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TITLE OF THESIS....The..Use..of..Mountain..Imagery..in
Romanticism..as...Exemplified..by..some
Poetical..Works..of..Wordsworth..and..Lamartine

UNIVERSITY.....of...ALBERTA.....

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED.....Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED.....Fall, 1973.....

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
THE USE OF MOUNTAIN IMAGERY IN ROMANTICISM
AS EXEMPLIFIED BY SOME POETICAL WORKS OF
WORDSWORTH AND LAMARTINE

by



Véronique Vouilloz

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1973

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend
to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a
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Exemplified by some Poetical Works of Wordsworth and Lamartine
submitted by Véronique Vouilloz in partial fulfilment of the re-
quirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

A way of exploring whether and how a new era in poetry starts with romanticism is to select one characteristic image and see how it is used by two romantic poets of different nationalities, against the background of eighteenth-century tradition, and of the practice of other romantics.

Because literary history usually considers Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads of 1798 and Lamartine's Méditations poétiques of 1820 as the first collections of poems of the English and French romantic movements, I have chosen to focus first on them and to study the role of the mountain image in these early collections, and then to compare the results with a study of important later works by the two poets and some of their contemporaries.

The first chapter traces back the taste for mountains. The eighteenth-century growing interest in natural grandeur has been explained by referring to the development of geology and astronomy, which influenced the development of aesthetics. The picturesque and the sublime account, to a great extent, for the fashion of alpine description.

Whereas the Lyrical Ballads do not rely on a mountain setting to convey the sublimity of humble life, An Evening Walk, Descriptive Sketches and The Prelude describe the Alps as well as English mountains. The Prelude however differs in outlook from the two early works, for it conveys the sublime experience of the harmony inherent

to mountain scenery.

Lamartine also shows an evolution, from an initial avoidance of mountains in the Méditations poétiques, to the choice of an alpine setting for Jocelyn. The mountain gives a concrete foundation to a poetry which, in Jocelyn, has become engagée.

The mountain, secondary in the early collections of the two poets and close to eighteenth-century conventions, acquires a richer symbolic significance in their later works. It imparts the balance that exists between oppositions and the mystery of creative forces.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Milaň V. Dimić for his constant help and encouragement. I am grateful to him, to the other members of my committee, to my typist and to my friends, for reading and checking my manuscript.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The term "romanticism" has two general meanings: it either applies to a perennial facet of the human mind which exists at all times and predominates in some literary works belonging to a particular period and language. Or it designates a circumscribed historical movement in literature, which occurs in Europe in the years 1790-1800 and controls the literary scene for about half a century.* The historical concept does not even fully correspond to the psychological one, for, although the common reader who uses the adjective "romantic" is not aware of a discrepancy, when he is asked to cite an author who answers his implicit definition of romanticism, he is likely to say:

*Confusion caused by the ambivalent term is increased by the difficulty of assigning dates to the movement and of classifying writers. National literatures are not periodized equally at home and abroad, and even within one language historians of literature differ in their categories. See Arthur O. Lovejoy, "On the Discrimination of Romanticisms," PMLA, XXIX (1924), 229-53, reprinted in his Essays in the History of Ideas. René Wellek, "The Concept of Romanticism in Literary History" and "Romanticism Re-examined," in his Concepts of Criticism, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols, Jr. Also The Romantic Age, Vol. II of A History of Modern Criticism: 1750-1950. Henry H. H. Remak, "West European Romanticism: Definition and Scope," in Comparative Literature: Method and Perspective, ed. by Newton P. Stallknecht and Horst Frenz. Also "Ein Schlüssel zur westeuropäischen Romantik," in Begriffsbestimmung der Romantik, hrsg. von Helmut Prang. And "Trends of Recent Research on West European Romanticism," in Romantic, ed. by Hans Eichner. Lilian R. Furst, Romanticism (The Critical Idiom). Morse Peckham, Beyond the Tragic Vision. The Quest for Identity in the Nineteenth Century.

Rousseau, thinking of La Nouvelle Héloïse, or Goethe, because of Die Leiden des jungen Werthers. He then must acknowledge that his own instinctive judgment, based on what is understood by "romantic" in the realm of emotion does not fit in with his textbook classifications, which call Rousseau a precursor and Werther a Sturm und Drang work.

But even scholars do not agree on who should be classified as romantic writers. Their definitions of romanticism differ, for the obvious reason that the works they try to group together show wide dissimilarities. The difficulty of finding a valid common denominator seems so great that Arthur O. Lovejoy questions the very meaning of such a concept as "romanticism." It must be said that his doubt derives from his initial distrust of any conceptualized periods in literary history.

Other critics, however, have accepted Lovejoy's challenge and looked for one, two or a group of characteristics, general enough to apply to a vast number of west European works of the beginning of the nineteenth century, but precise enough to remain meaningful. The survey of west European romanticism made by Henry H. Remak is supported by more specific studies, such as those by Northrop Frye, M. H. Abrams, Paul de Man, and is also confirmed by other undertakings in a more directly historical perspective, those of Paul Van Tieghem and René Wellek for instance.¹ All of them come to the same conclusion: one can indeed speak of a romantic movement, as having occurred in Europe and as having certain common characteristics. A "set of norms" distinguishes the writers of romantic orientation from the eighteenth-century enlightenment and neo-classicism and from the later nineteenth-

century realism. On the basis of his comparative tables, Remak concludes that "the evidence pointing to the existence in Western Europe of a widespread, distinct and fairly simultaneous pattern of thoughts, attitudes and beliefs associated with the connotation 'Romanticism' is overwhelming."²

In a later defense of his comparative method, Remak resorts to a mountain metaphor: instead of starting from the summit [Gipfel] --that is from an a priori definition--and climbing down to the literary works themselves at the risk of overlooking some of their features, one must begin at ground level and make one's way up to an overall view of romanticism.³

In this context, the following comparative study, although limited to a few collections of poems written by two romantics, is a small step on the path to the top. My paper focuses on Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads of 1798 and Lamartine's Méditations poétiques of 1820. Both poets are major figures of romanticism in their national literatures, and according to many critics their first collections of poems inaugurate a new era in their literatures. The Méditations like the Ballads were meant to stand as collections setting their tonality to the individual pieces.

In his Advertisement, Wordsworth warns the reader that "the majority of the following poems are to be considered as experiments."⁴ Although it was fashionable to announce one's verse as innovative, the Lyrical Ballads did strike a new note and aroused considerable interest: a few negative reviews did not prevent them from selling well.⁵ They have won a prominent place in literary history as the

starting-point of English romanticism.⁶ Coleridge's contributions to the volume do not exemplify the theories which the Advertisement and the Preface put forward and will therefore not be considered in this paper. Neither will the 1800 edition in two volumes, because it modifies the original tone of the first volume.⁷ Wordsworth's 1800 Preface crystallizes the new poetical elements which permeate the Ballads and is usually claimed to be the first manifesto of the English romantic movement.⁸

Lamartine's Méditations poétiques hold a similar position in French literary history. In March 1820, a small volume of twenty-four poems appeared anonymously and was so successful that it was re-edited one month later, with two more poems and this time with the author's name: M. de Lamartine. No major change affected the following editions until the ninth in 1823, to which Lamartine contributed six more poems. In 1849, the Edition des Souscripteurs contained forty-one Méditations, as well as the Nouvelles Méditations and the Troisièmes Méditations. It also included Lamartine's Commentaires, which in fact give a misleading biographical background to the poems. The author himself published them once more in his Oeuvres complètes in 1860.⁹

These bibliographical details had to be mentioned in order to avoid a misunderstanding: my paper considers the very first collection of March 1820, still free of "le mauvais ouvrage qu'avait fait le poète vieilli,"¹⁰ for later interpolations disrupt the impression made on the reader by the original volume. This volume was a "revelation," says Sainte-Beuve.

On passait subitement d'une poésie sèche, maigre, pauvre, . . .
à une poésie large, vraiment intérieure, abondante, élevée et

toute divine . . . D'un jour à l'autre, on avait changé de climat et de lumière, on avait changé d'Olympe: c'était une révélation.¹¹

It is true that Sainte-Beuve comments on the event of the Méditations forty-five years later and is influenced by the development of poetry, but Victor Hugo perceives the potentialities of Lamartine's genius already in 1820. He writes in Le Conservateur littéraire:

Voilà enfin des poèmes d'un poète, des poésies qui sont de la poésie!¹²

The Méditations poétiques therefore stand as a landmark of romanticism in France. "Rien n'enlèvera à Lamartine la gloire d'avoir été la première voix romantique," says Gaétan Picon in the Encyclopédie de la Pléiade in 1958, while other literary historians set off the Méditations as the expression of a new and personal lyricism.¹³

Lamartine writes several decades after Wordsworth and the two are often compared with each other by reviewers, who more often point out differences than similarities between them. Sainte-Beuve for instance translates two poems by Wordsworth to show his French readers the "rapports . . . en ressemblance et en différence" of the two writers.¹⁴ Yet his translations, added to a few scattered renderings of Wordsworth into French, are not enough to spread the knowledge of "the Rydal Mount poet" in France. Emile Legouis believes that "Wordsworth's influence on French literature was altogether very slight, nor did it make itself felt till about 1830."¹⁵ One of the reasons of this lack of interest is likely to lie in Byron's bias against Wordsworth, for Byron is very popular on the continent. The French see Wordsworth grouped with Young and representative of a

melancholy, enervated "lakist school."¹⁶ Théophile Gautier further falsifies the meaning of the epithet "lakist" when he stresses that the poet of "Le Lac" is more than a weak lakist.¹⁷

Wordsworth then is misunderstood in France, in spite of Amédée Pichot's Voyage historique et littéraire en Angleterre et en Ecosse, which, published in 1825, introduces Cowper, Crabbe, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey to the French.¹⁸ Sainte-Beuve praises the Voyage and admires the English poetry of humble life, a new literary realm that he conquers in turn in Joseph Delorme. Lamartine also is planning "une épopée familière," Jocelyn: a possible influence of the Lyrical Ballads may be seen only in this choice of "familiar" subject. The Advertisements of both insist on the authentic origin of the stories, either through direct observation or through a witness persona.¹⁹ But the poet who as a little boy used to explore the caves of the mountains above Milly with young shepherds has the same direct knowledge of his native countryside as Wordsworth.²⁰ The similar reliance on first-hand sources is due to a similar early upbringing and also a permanent tie with nature. Beside this kinship, Sainte-Beuve of course may be seen as a link from Wordsworth to Lamartine, but there is no immediate influence of Wordsworth on Lamartine. Philippe Van Tieghem notwithstanding, Emile Legouis, M. A. Smith and Henri Guillemin all reach this conclusion.²¹ Lamartine knows Young, Thomson, Gray, whom he translates, and Ossian and Byron like most French people, but not Wordsworth.²²

The purpose of my paper is not to trace any possible influence, undiscovered until now, but to see how Wordsworth and Lamartine,

within a historical context, each bring into play the mountain as scenery and symbol in their verse, and on the results of this inquiry, with the additional confirmation--or contrast, as the case might be-- of a few mountain poems by other English and French Romantics, to conclude whether the mountain image noticeably differs from its counterpart in the preceding period. If there is consistency in the romantic use of the mountain, again it is not a matter of influence but of cultural convergence. Frye and Abrams characterize romanticism as a revolution in literature and have tried to define it by an analysis of significant changes in traditional imagery. For example, the spatial representation of values shifts from a traditional heaven-earth-hell hierarchy to a new consciousness of a deep, inner source of creativity.²³ Another instance of study in imagery is Abrams' article, "The Correspondent Breeze," which emphasizes the mythopoeic dimension of nature images. In his recent paper, Remak asks for more studies in this area, "the investigation of . . . images and metaphors" in writers of different nationalities.²⁴

In order to determine whether mountains take on a new meaning in romanticism, it is necessary to survey their presence in the literary production of the preceding century, as well as to summarize when, how and why they appear in literature.

CHAPTER II

MOUNTAINS IN LITERATURE BEFORE 1800

To the modern man, mountains inspire admiration and awe. They attract the tourist and the sportsman who hunt for elating experiences. They also play a role in the literary scene, as a setting or a source of symbols, as for instance in Thomas Mann's Der Zauberberg (1924) and Henri Troyat's La Neige en deuil (1952), where they emphasize separation from the rest of the world and discovery of spiritual values.

Man's inner landscape also comprises mountains, which imply threat, barrenness, isolation, lurking dangers, as well as positive values: beauty and mysterious sources of life. This dualism has always been felt in the western tradition; there is no sudden shift of the pendulum from a former disregard for mountains to the modern enthusiasm for them. But modern man is not content to ponder symbolic heights: he sees real summits and marvels at their beauty.

The Alps in particular, "the playground of Europe," seem to be a modern discovery: before the eighteenth century, apart from a few exceptions, they were discarded as useless rubbish. In spite of their majesty, in spite of a positive pole in tradition, the current of opinion was negative. In fact, wild nature on the whole did not appeal to civilized Europeans; praise of the Alps became fashionable only when nature reasserted its power over art. The change of

attitude towards the Alps and other high mountains can thus be seen as constituting only one fragment of a wider phenomenon: the development of the feeling for nature.

Several scholarly studies on the role of landscape have noted the increasing importance of mountains (witness the studies of Alfred Biese, Daniel Mornet, Myra Reynolds, Paul Van Tieghem for example), but only in passing, while other scholars (Lovejoy for instance) have examined only isolated aspects of the change. A decisive step was taken by Marjorie Hope Nicolson in Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite (1959).¹

This chapter surveys the attitudes towards mountains prevailing in literature. It tries to establish the historical background before 1800 in a more precise way than studies on nature in general could do, but without going into the theological and scientific theories studied in detail in the above-mentioned book by M. H. Nicolson. It focuses on literary treatments of the mountain theme and indicates the various sources pointed out by critics of the new love for high mountains. Finally, it attempts a clarification of the two different approaches to mountains in literature: the deep and permanent one of myth, and the historical discovery of the physical presence of the Alps.

I

If we trace back the appreciation of mountains in the western literary tradition, we realize that the Greeks and the Latins differ.

Greek literature offers examples of modern feeling for a rugged and wild landscape, from a few similes in the Iliad and a description of hills in the Homeric "Hymn to Pan," to narrations of ascents undertaken for purposes of experiment or for the sake of adventure at a later period.² The most striking passage occurs in Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound, the sublimity of which is heightened by the Caucasus in the background, "from whence that river pours his strength / Sheer from the summit" (ll. 720-721).

Although mountains do not appear in Greek poetry as much as the sea, they play a leading role in mythology: Olympus, Ossa, Pindus, Helicon, Parnassus, to name only a few, are the meeting-places of the supernatural and the human worlds. Some of the names given to mountains—"whirlwind," "thunder," "terrifying"--recall a primitive fear of untamed nature. They became places of worship and haunts of legends, and if poets rarely saw them with aesthetical distance, it is because they were so much a part of normal life.

Among the Latins, they were not popular. The Alpes gelidae or the saevae Alpes impeded trade and conquest. Silius and Livy both related Hannibal's crossing of the Alps in terms which expressed the direct horror common for so many centuries afterwards; they could not accurately describe "cetera visu quam dictu foediora," as Livy adds. The alternative to fear was the neglect of most major poets, even Catullus and Virgil, born in the north of Italy, and Horace, whose "candidum Soracte" ode is one of the only exceptions. Travelers could be as indifferent as Caesar, who composed his De Analogia on his way to Gaul. Only Lucretius and emperor Hadrian climbed

mountains, the former to observe clouds and storms, and the latter to see sunrises. Lucretius' disparagement of the uselessness of these waste places and his sense of sublimity both influenced European writers.³

II

Among medieval European writers, one of the first travellers of whom we hear is John de Brengle. When he saw the Great St. Bernard Pass in 1188, he called it a place of torment, although he also thought that his prayers would be heard, "feeling [him]self so much nearer to heaven."⁴ He had the attitude condemned by St. Augustine, who said that "it is not written that God is near . . . to those who dwell on the mountains."⁵ The author of the Confessions followed the imagery of the New Testament when he associated "elevations of the earth" with pride. St. Augustine also deplored the vain curiosity of men who "go forth to admire the peaks of mountains" when God dwells in their own memory. Petrarch, reading this passage of the Confessions on top of Mont Ventoux in 1335, turned his thoughts back to man, but the sublimity of the mountain suggested to him the still greater dignity of man. Moreover, he had made the ascent for its own sake.

More often, the mountain has no geographical reality and is endowed with a spiritual significance founded on the Bible: in Pilgrim's Progress it represents the proud but also enables the Pilgrim to see the heavenly city. Dante's Purgatory is on top of Bismantova, a step on the way to heaven, a way which is hard, as the

difficulty of climbing suggests. The Grail is also hidden on a sacred and inaccessible mountain: Montsalvat, the mountain of salvation. Thus a duality exists in the Christian allegorization of the hill: Hill of Virtue, difficult to reach and desirable, or Hill of Pride, which should be abased according to Isaiah's prophecy. Similarly, the hill either fills man with a spirit of domination over the kingdoms of the earth, or else it attracts him because of its mystery and its inaccessibility, and is therefore the appropriate seat of the Earthly Paradise, as in Milton later.

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance view the mountain as an object in the world of man which best represents some of his basic reactions: fear, effort, desire, haughtiness. Such allegorical aspects of the mountain predominate and will be handed down to later centuries, filtering even into the most straightforward descriptions of precise places like the Alps.

III

The seventeenth century offers examples of both allegorizations of natural scenery and travel-book types of description. John Denham's "Cooper's Hill" (1642) belongs to the first category because height stands for majesty, a positive form of pride this time since it is the necessary quality of a king. The poet is thinking of the English monarch, Charles I, when he writes:

. . . winds and storms his lofty forehead beat:
The common fate of all that's high and great.
(ll. 221-22, p. 79)

But the hill is also a vantage-point which affords a panoramic view of London, St. Paul's Cathedral, Windsor Castle: the fashion of topographical poems was started, describing "all the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, Forests, and other Parts of This Renowned Isle of Great Britain,"⁶ but, in particular, places seen from "auspicious heights" similar to Cooper's Hill, like John Dyer's Grongar Hill (1726).

Still, most poets relied on the clichés of the genre, even when confronted with the Alps. Travellers filled their narrations with classical reminiscences, noticing the new scenery mainly for its dismaying cold and abruptness. The most thorough account of a personal experience occurs in John Evelyn's Diary (1646) and exemplifies the tone of horror which characterized many such travel memories: dangerous roads and bridges over chasms, eternal snow and ice, "roaring" and "echoing," "cataracts," and fierce people with goitres.⁷

After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the fashion of making a "Grand Tour" of Europe spread among the English, and the horror aroused by the Alps is usually proved by quoting English texts, but the same disgust existed in France and Germany. Montesquieu did not see anything in Tyrol, "rien . . . que des montagnes; rien (je crois) jusques à Innsprück; rien jusqu'à Munich . . . Tout ce que j'ai vu du Tyrol . . . m'a paru un très mauvais pays. Nous avons toujours été entre deux montagnes . . ."⁸ The latter remark is repeated several times: he was greatly upset that only "un petit morceau de ciel" appeared.

Misson, another French traveller, did admire the mountain landscape between Geneva and Lausanne, but the Alps he could see

served only as a background for more cultivated and milder scenery:

Il ne se peut pas voir une plus agréable route que celle de Genève à Lausanne: C'est un costeau toujours bien cultivé, et bien habité. On ne perd que très rarement la veüe du Lac, et en quelques endroits de l'autre costé ce sont des montagnes amoncelées, dont les cimes cornües sont toujours brillantes de neige.⁹

Travellers, therefore, noticed the gloom of the Alps more than their glory, and frequented valleys more than barren heights.

Yet a German poet from Hamburg, B. H. Brockes, tried to be impartial: in "Die Berge" he depicted the horrible, the useful and also the beautiful aspects of mountains.¹⁰ Yet there is still a decided predominance of depreciative adjectives.

Exceptional appreciation of mountain scenery can be found of course in the centuries that I have surveyed very rapidly. The more remarkable one is certainly the praise of high mountains written in 1541 by Conrad Gessner, who lived in the Alps:

I have resolved that so long as God grants me life I will climb some mountains every year, or at least one mountain, partly to learn the mountain flora, partly to strengthen my body and refresh my soul. What a pleasure it is to see the monstrous mountain masses and lift one's head among the clouds. How it stimulates worship, to be surrounded by the snowy domes, which the Great Architect of the world built up in one long day of Creation! How empty is the life, how mean the striving of those who only crawl about on the earth for gain and home-baked pleasures! The earthly paradise is closed to them.¹¹

The physical, intellectual and spiritual pleasures he enjoys sound very familiar to a modern ear, especially to a reader of Rousseau, but this attitude comes long before its time. What happened to transform the attitude towards mountains? Today hundreds of alpinists travel to the high places of the world because, like Gessner, they like climbing—though the sixteenth-century Swiss author would not recognize the

competitive spirit put into artificial rock-climbing. Tourists take pictures of mountain scenery which one is supposed to admire ecstatically. We have thus come a long way from the disgust found*in seventeenth-century travel diaries and didactic writings, in itself not alien to the primitive fear of the unknown.

Our historical inquiry from the Greeks to the beginning of the eighteenth century has now brought us to the moment when this change of attitude occurred. Conrad Gessner's "admiration," in spite of its early date, serves as an example of the modern love for the Alps. It brings home the fact that this kind of praise, common today, was extraordinary before the eighteenth century. In the next sections, I shall examine the causes of this change, starting with an analysis of the negative point of view and the reasons for it.

IV

I have mentioned the fear of the unknown. This fear certainly plays a part in the mistrust of mountains. Even the inhabitants of mountainous areas were primitively afraid of the mysterious empty regions beyond their fields. Legends spoke of spirits living on these misty summits;* Roman deities had to be placated by offerings--votive tablets have been found at the top of the main passes.¹² In the case of Christian populations, priests were asked to exorcize the satanic forces which caused avalanches or other catastrophes. The magistrates

*Like the Spirits in Byron's Manfred.

of Chamonix "jurèrent que, depuis la bénédiction donnée par Jean d'Arenthon [a holy bishop], ces glaciers se sont retirées de telle sorte qu'elles sont à présent éloignées d'un demi-quart de lieue du lieu où elles étaient avant la bénédiction."¹³

War and trade compelled groups of people to cross the barriers of mountains and travel routes led over alpine passes, but still, the purpose was to go from one plain to another. The scenery gave no pleasure to travellers who suffered from cold and fatigue as well as from brigands, as was common on the Great St. Bernard Pass. There, in the twelfth century, St. Bernard of Menthon built, on the ruins of a temple dedicated to Jupiter, a shelter for pilgrims and merchants. According to the tradition, this put an end to pilfering by fearless mountaineers who hid along the road--a Roman road--and took advantage of the travellers' dismay.¹⁴

For years, references to the Alps or other high mountains were made in terms of complaints and condemnation: "Mountains were warts, blisters, imposthumes, when they were not the rubbish of the earth, swept away by the careful housewife Nature--waste places of the world."¹⁵ Even the religiously inspired scientific theories of the time did not grant them the honour of having been created by God: they must have emerged as a consequence of the Deluge. The earth at Creation was beautifully smooth, but sin later disfigured it. A reputable theory therefore denigrated mountains as the flotsam of meaningless and even deplorable accidents of life, with which one had to put up in this world. An influential book, Thomas Burnet's The Sacred Theory of the Earth, first published in Latin in 1681 and

translated into English in 1684, recalls that Oriental legends compared the original earth to an egg, an image which poets who despised mountains could also find in Ovid, for whom the rising of hills was one of the metamorphoses undergone by the surface of the earth. Theologians discussed the meaning of the curse stated in Genesis: "cursed be the ground for thy sake." What was meant by the term translated by "ground"? The soil or the earth? How did the Deluge affect the earth? Luther and Calvin each expressed his point of view. The problem existed for geologists as well; for instance, Galileo's discovery of mountains on the moon seemed to prove that they constituted an essential part of a planet. The Sacred Theory picked up the various arguments--religious and scientific, closely linked in any case--and concluded that mountains were the "Ruins of a broken World," a sentence which punctuates the "Two First Books Concerning the Deluge" like a refrain: "What can have more the Figure and Mien of a Ruin, than Craggs, and Rocks, and Cliffs?" However, Burnet himself was not insensitive to a grand scenery. At any rate, his books aroused a controversy in which we can discern some voices in favour of mountains. Favourable comments were made either for pragmatic reasons, or for the sake of relativity and subjectivity, and argument which will be developed successfully into aesthetic theories during the eighteenth century.

M. H. Nicolson insists on the "Burnet Controversy" to show that the attitude towards mountains is rooted in the sciences of the time, which moreover often referred to the authority of the Scriptures. According to her, the change which occurred in that small area has to be placed not merely in the context of appreciation of

nature, but also in that of geology, its development, and the philosophical framework within which sciences were pursued. Once scholars questioned the assumption that regularity was the mark of perfect creation, the way was open for what M. H. Nicolson calls "the Aesthetics of the Infinite." Her basic topic therefore does not differ from that of other critics who studied the feeling for nature in the eighteenth century; however, she traces the change further back, since she is not content to explain the sublime as the best of them do, but rather, investigates in six chapters the preparation of the mind for adopting the new attitude.¹⁶

V

Leaving the convincing history of the mountain idea expounded in Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory, I shall now review the more immediate factors of the change of attitude. As I already mentioned, the fashion of taking a Grand Tour across the Continent brought Englishmen into contact with the Alps. Critics have said that these tours provoked a negative reaction until travelling conditions were improved enough to allow beauty rather than danger to be the dominant impression. In fact, this argument does not take into account, among other texts, the letters of Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray, who travelled together, under the same circumstances, and nevertheless responded altogether differently to the new experience. "Such uncouth rock, and such uncomely inhabitants!", Walpole exclaimed, whereas Gray analyzes his complex reaction:

Not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff but is pregnant with religion and poetry. There are certain scenes that would awe an atheist into belief without the help of other argument.¹⁷

Appreciation depends primarily on state of mind. For Gray, in spite of the lack of comfort, the cold and the hardship of the journey over Mount Cenis in 1739, the wild landscape opened new vistas of feeling.

VI

Better travelling conditions alone do not explain the awakening love of the Alps which, in its literary expression, is then shown by some critics to be an offshoot of the new taste for "natural" scenery in landscape gardening. Certainly the new taste for untamed nature entered poetry only after it had spread to other arts, but why did it enter the other arts? Too often one is content with describing the phenomenon without tracing it back far enough. M. H. Nicolson at last envisaged the whole development of aesthetical values. Before her, A. O. Lovejoy had studied one single source of the romantic concept of nature, in two articles, one on Gothic architecture, and the other, which is directly relevant to our discussion at this point, on the goût anglo-chinois.¹⁸

Till the eighteenth century, the usual garden was the French formal assortment of flowerbeds and geometrically shaped hedges. They pleased the eye by their symmetry, which imitated the order displayed in God's creation. The same purpose of imitating nature ultimately inspired a new style, characterized by irregular lawns and high trees.

William Kent created such "English" gardens after he had spent several years in Italy and seen the beauty of irregularity in nature and in painted landscapes. This happened around 1710. Later, a school of landscape gardeners was constituted, headed by Capability Brown. In France, Charles Rivière-Dufresny, remembered more for his comedies, also tried his hand at landscaping and promoted the English "parc paysager." Theoreticians supported the fashion towards the end of the century: Jean-Marie Morel's Théorie des jardins was published in Paris in 1776. Morel, who was an architect, also added two elements in the Ermenonville park, which was created by the Marquis de Girardin, author of the Composition des paysages. Antoine-Nicolas Duchesne wrote Considérations sur le jardinage (1775) and Sur la formation des jardins (1779). Along with the enjoyment of natural scenery, these works praise the metaphysical meditation which it leads to, for the picturesque garden can give "pour ainsi dire, une idée sensible de la création et de l'infini."¹⁹ Morel had also published anonymously in London, in 1757, L'Art de distribuer les jardins suivant l'usage des Chinois. The Chinese garden displayed a freedom, an apparent lack of order which corresponded to what Kent had done. It had in fact been praised as early as 1692 by Sir William Temple in his essay Upon the Gardens of Epicurus. His warning against adapting the Chinese method in England challenged gardeners to do so. They were strongly encouraged by the pro-Chinese interest of the time.

By mentioning this early example, A. O. Lovejoy is looking for the very first sign of reversal from regularity to asymmetry as criterion of beauty, which other critics have placed at later dates,

in Addison or Pope for instance. But Lovejoy's article makes another point clear: complicated "disorder" in Chinese gardens--waterfalls, caves, crags--did not really imitate nature but aimed at suggesting moods and passions. In other words, the landscape was not reproduced photographically: it was coloured by man's emotions. This way of looking at nature from the point of view of human psychology is also found in the theory of the sublime: a scenery is defined by the feeling it arouses.

Before discussing the sublime in more detail, I must make brief reference to architecture. A. O. Lovejoy's other article, on the "Gothic Revival," gives the following equation to summarize the neo-classic assumption: natural-simple-classic-universal. In the late 1740's, the reason for a revival of Gothic architecture sounded exactly the same as the earlier argument in favour of neo-classic style: conformity to nature. The fact is that the meaning of the term nature had changed. What John Dennis had said in 1704 ("The Universe is regular in all its Parts"), proved so wrong to travellers and thinkers that the very opposite imposed itself: nature is capricious, when it is not wild.²⁰ Beginning with gardens, the criterion of natural variety was soon applied to architecture, as was manifested in the revival of Gothic style. It must be noted that Thomas Gray's taste for mountain scenery was akin to his admiration for the Gothic architecture of the Continent.

VII

In painting, we are confronted with the concept of the picturesque, which was defined and argued about in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but which existed practically in the works of Claude Lorrain, Gaspard Poussin and Salvator Rosa in the seventeenth century. They brought--Rosa particularly--such a characteristic twist to landscape painting that writers could evoke a setting merely by mentioning the painter's name in connection with it. Horace Walpole for instance, in a letter written during the journey already mentioned, satirized superfluous ecstatic descriptions by saying: "Precipices, mountains, torrents, wolves, rumblings, Salvator Rosa."²¹ For the Italian had introduced forests, rocks, thunderstorms, peaks into his pictures. Claude Lorrain and Poussin produced peaceful scenery, but with vast prospects which upset the neo-classic rule of balance and proportion. Vastness seems to characterize the picturesque, at least in the general sense of the term during the eighteenth century. Towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century theoreticians such as Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight argued about the exact delineation of the concept,²² but earlier it was commonly applied to a landscape of open prospect, whether peaceful, as in Claude and Poussin, or wild, as in Rosa. In his Essay on Prints (1768), William Gilpin even defined it quite simply as "a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture."²³

The three painters became popular because they reminded the English travellers of the scenery which had impressed them on their

Grand Tour. Struck by the novelty of the landscapes they had seen, they tried to rediscover it in paintings and in some areas in Great Britain--Wales, the Lake District, and valleys with ruins like Tintern Abbey.

In landscape gardening, the picturesque imposed the abolition of fences. William Kent created gardens after Salvator Rosa, with that very peculiarity: sunken fences, which opened wider spaces and blurred the borderline between the cultivated part and the meadows or forests beyond.

"Cooper's Hill" and Grongar Hill exemplify the use in poetry of a vast tableau. From a hilltop one could enjoy the kind of panoramic view for which picturesque paintings and gardens had created a taste. Apart from John Dyer, many eighteenth-century poets described prospects seen from a height, or the foreground, middle distance and background of "scenes" which included "piled rocks," "towering cliffs," or "sublime mountain's brows." William Collins, James Beattie, Joseph Warton and William Lisle Bowles, to mention a few, followed this pattern in some of their poems.²⁴

The line between a picturesque landscape and a sublime one is difficult to draw. According to the definitions given by some theoreticians, the sublime seems to be a subcategory of the picturesque. Gilpin for instance attributes to the picturesque the qualities of roughness, irregularity and variety, which often serve to describe the sublime.

The difficulty comes from the fact that one can look at a landscape from various points of view: its roughness makes it pic-

turesque while its "vastness and obscurity" are sublime.²⁵ But vast prospects also characterize a picturesque garden. It is only in the respective origins of the two concepts that one can find a clear distinction. Whereas the picturesque belongs to the pictorial arts, the sublime is primarily a rhetorical category. Each of them therefore has its own connotations and its own vocabulary.

When Wordsworth was trying to depict the Alps in Descriptive Sketches, he realized how inadequate the vocabulary of the picturesque was and he turned to Edmund Burke's sublime.²⁶ Since the picturesque is insufficient in speaking of high mountains, the late eighteenth century depended on the sublime for its mountain poetry. I must therefore, like Wordsworth, turn to Burke and the sublime.

VIII

Edmund Burke's A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, first published in 1757,²⁷ opposed the sublime to another aesthetical concept: the beautiful. The distinction he established was in fact so sharp that it became necessary to add the picturesque to his categories. The picturesque therefore came to be applied to any scenery which could not be classified under either of Burke's headings. This explains its looseness.

Before Burke, the sublime had already been defined in opposition to the beautiful.²⁸ This contrast came naturally to mind, because the beautiful was a familiar concept. It had very clear implications in neo-classical aesthetics: it included order, measure,

symmetry. A beautiful landscape resembled a garden in which nature had been improved by man's hand and did not display any extremes in shape, dimension, colour, light or even sound and movement. An Arcadian type of scenery also fulfills the conditions of beauty, by its mildness, because it is proportionate to man's power and accessible to civilization.

In contrast, wild scenery, such as ocean, storm, volcano, forest, desert or mountain, does not appeal to the neo-classicist's sense of beauty, but it does give pleasure, another kind of pleasure, though, mixed with terror: it is sublime. By defining the sublime in connection with the thrill of terror, Burke gives a psychological, subjective basis to the appreciation of scenery: The emotion aroused by the objects in the artist--and repeated by the work of art in the reader or spectator--matters more than the object itself. Wordsworth will push the principle so far as to extend the realm of the sublime to humble objects;²⁹ he boldly proclaims the paradox of the sublimity of the low. However, he partly fixes the quality in the object, whereas Kant, in Kritik der Urteilskraft, declares:

Wir können nicht mehr sagen, als dass der Gegenstand zur Darstellung einer Erhabenheit tauglich sei, die im Gemüte angetroffen werden kann; denn das eigentliche Erhabene kann in keiner sinnlichen Form enthalten sein, sondern trifft nur Ideen der Vernunft.³⁰

If even a low object arouses the kind of response usually limited to natural grandeur, it does so by association. Burke notes this phenomenon when he extends the cause of the sublime from terror and pain to "a mode of terror, or of pain," that is not the actual emotion but any other which provokes the same tension in the body. The association

may be carried simply by the words, for "when words commonly sacred to great occasions are used, we are affected by them even without the occasions." The crucial test is therefore the effect provoked in the subject, whatever its cause.

Burke then analyzes the subjective emotion aroused in the spectator: "If the pain and terror," says Burke, "are so modified as not to be actually noxious . . . they are capable of producing delight; not pleasure, but a sort of delightful horror, a sort of tranquillity tinged with terror; which as it belongs to self-preservation is one of the strongest of all the passions. Its object is the sublime. Its highest degree I call astonishment."³¹ Apart from the fact that Kant would not call the object sublime, he seems to develop Burke's "tranquillity tinged with terror" when he asks what part culture plays in producing it.

In der Tat wird ohne Entwicklung sittlicher Ideen das, was wir, durch Kultur vorbereitet, erhaben nennen, dem rohen Menschen bloss abschreckend vorkommen . . . So nannte der gute, übrigens verständige savoyische Bauer . . . alle Liebhaber der Eisgebirge ohne Bedenken Narren.³²

We admire what we are taught to admire. This is the argument used by M. H. Nicolson in favour of the change of attitude towards mountains. The sublime competed with the neo-classical notion of the beautiful for precedence in eighteenth-century taste. How was the new outlook introduced in the curriculum of the man of taste? The usual answer cites Boileau's translation of Longinus in 1674, influential because of its value as a modern language translation, and because of Boileau's authority in aesthetics. However, M. H. Nicolson points out that the sublime was known in England before the Traité du Sublime

ou du Merveilleux dans le Discours Traduit du Grec de Longin.³³ This is evident since Longinus had been translated and interpreted before Boileau, not only in England by John Hall, but also in France by Père Rapin. The matter of precedence is not relevant here, but the various essays on the sublime before Burke's Enquiry share a common feature that corresponds directly to the role of the sublime with regard to mountains: they all deal with a rhetorical sublime which John Hall rightly calls "the height of eloquence."³⁴

According to M. H. Nicolson, another form of sublime existed in England independently from these essays, and earlier than the publication of Boileau's Traité: a natural sublime; that is, an appreciation of natural grandeur. Its development constitutes precisely the point of Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: a theological and scientific controversy about the earth, raging around Burnet's Sacred Theory.

Without questioning the matter of early development fully expounded by M. H. Nicolson, we must keep in mind the distinction between the two approaches to the sublime. The Greek critic described primarily a rhetorical device: his five sources of lofty style include figures of thought and diction, phraseology and composition. However, the eighteenth century stopped after the first two--the "faculty of grasping great conceptions" and strong and impetuous passion³⁵--and developed the idea of emotion implied in them. Longinus' other sources obviously concern a skill which can be acquired by the poet, and in a way constitute a set of rules. In spite of Longinus' emphasis on rules, the eighteenth-century advocates of a free and spontaneous art

quoted him as a champion of their cause.³⁶ His examples also inspired them more than the whole of his rhetorical theory: his short mention of Etna gave support to choosing mountains as the subject of a work of art.

The quotation from Genesis, often repeated, proved that sublimity did not depend on far-fetched words, since there is nothing simpler than: "God said, Let there be light, and there was light" (Section IX, p. 18). Still, this very example illustrates a rhetorical use of language, anti-pompous it is true, but purposeful, and though eighteenth-century theoreticians neglected the long list of figures of style drawn by the meticulous Greek critic, it might be revealing to study a poem, aiming at sublimity in object and thought, in the light of what Longinus says in the appropriate language of such a poem. Longinus gives the warning however that what is sublime in one work might be turgid in another if it is not legitimized by true passion, for "great words issue . . . from those whose thoughts are weighty," and again: "passionate language is more attractive when it seems to be born of the occasion" (Sections IX and XVIII, pp. 15 and 42). Besides the poet's sincere passion, the reader's strong reaction is also a proof that sublimity has been reached:

That is really great, which gives much food for fresh reflection; which it is hard, nay impossible, to resist; of which the memory is strong and indelible. (Section VII, p. 12)

The power of conjuring up a live picture is also a criterion:

the poet saw the Furies with his own eyes, and what his imagination represented he almost compelled his hearers to behold. (Section XV, p. 33)

Longinus' norms for labelling a passage sublime can be summed up in three main points, as Abrams did in The Mirror and the Lamp: "(1) [it] invests only a short passage of verse and prose . . . (2) This fragment bursts suddenly upon the auditor . . . (3) We auditors recognize the sublime not by an act of analytic or comparative judgment, but by our own transport (ekstasis)." ³⁷ These criteria are worth quoting because they will help determine the applicability of the sublime to the topos of mountain landscape. It is misleading, in my opinion, to speak of sublimity in Wordsworth only in the eighteenth-century sense of emotion. Longinus' rhetorical norms must be taken into account as well.

IX

In France, Boileau's translation of Longinus, published at the same time as his Art poétique, is not usually seen as witnessing an aspect of classicism. Yet in fact, the sublime falls in line with the famous art de plaire of the classics. In a study of Le Sublime en France (1660-1714), Théodore Litman corrects the simplistic idea of cold, strict, and dogmatic conformity to rules in the seventeenth-century. The vagueness of l'art de plaire allowed more freedom than is often recognized. Moreover, the fashionable periphrasis "je ne sais quoi" provided an escape from the rigid norms of classicism. It described the irreducible phenomena,

wie z.B. das Schöne, Hässliche, Erhabene schlechthin, das Schreckliche ohnegleichen. ³⁸

However, the sublime was a more daring notion than any of these concepts and Boileau was attacked. Whereas Père Bouhours and

Père Rapin had tried to conciliate the sublime with reason to make it acceptable, Boileau himself left the paradox open. By the time of Fénelon, after La Bruyère's Caractères, the sublime had gained such a large audience that the author of the Lettre à l'Académie could "persuader ses lecteurs à se laisser emporter par les passions les plus violentes que la lecture de l'Ecriture Sainte et des chefs-d'oeuvre de l'Antiquité pouvaient susciter."³⁹ Nevertheless it was not yet defined very clearly and did not impose itself. It was also fought against by the Modernes during the Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes. L'Abbé Du Bos gave it more weight when, in the Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture, published in 1719, he proclaims that "l'art . . . est appelé à plaire . . . à coups d'impressions toutes sensibles --sensorielles et passionnelles à la fois."⁴⁰ He echoes John Dennis, but with a rhetorical terminology: delectare and movere are given precedence over docere; it is the triumph, "en termes de l'époque, du sentiment sur l'esprit, du coeur sur la raison." The public becomes a better judge than the critic. The emphasis on subjective appreciation also arises in the Traité du beau of the Swiss Jean-Pierre Crousaz, which Diderot used for his article on Beau in the Encyclopédie. From 1750 on, with D'Alembert and Diderot,⁴¹ the theory of creative genius takes shape as a further development of subjectivity.

The sublime which, as Litman shows, already constituted one of the forces maintaining the balance in classicism, acquired therefore a greater importance in the eighteenth century. The study of its origin and of its relation to objects in nature had been preceded by Saint-Evremond's observation that:

la sensation du sublime était provoquée par la perception d'objets "vastes" et même épouvantables qui, selon lui, étaient loin de produire une impression agréable.⁴²

X

The terror brought forward by Burke as characteristic of the sublime finds an expression in the eighteenth-century Gothic novels. Horace Walpole announces in the preface to the first edition of The Castle of Otranto (1765) that "terror, the author's principal engine, prevents the story from ever languishing" (p. 11). The Gothic novel therefore throws some light on how and why the emotional sublime existed in practice in the years preceding romanticism. Created in England, most of the Gothic novels were translated into French within a few years of their publication. As Robert Hume states, "inducing a powerful emotional response in the reader (rather than a moral or intellectual one) was the prime object of these novelists."⁴³

One of the strongest emotions is terror, and graveyard poetry, for instance, relies on it in an attempt to reach sublimity. The Gothic novel too, aiming, not at sublimity, but at the reader's involvement, tries "to shock, alarm and otherwise rouse him" by describing frightful events in gloomy settings. One of its devices in fact is the scenery, and the death of Lewis' Monk as a result of a vertiginous fall which left him, with his bones broken, on a rocky edge overhanging a gorge exemplifies what Devendra Varma refers to as the "concord . . . between man's mood and the predominant aspect of nature."⁴⁴ Such a height of pride and evil could only be destroyed

by a fall into an abyss.

The storm--the atmospheric conditions noticed by Varma--completes the picture. But the description is extremely limited and this fact shows that scenery in the Gothic novel is only a means to create an atmosphere, which in its turn is used "for ends which are fundamentally psychological."⁴⁵ Why endeavour to have an emotional effect on the reader? These novels belong to an age of sensibility. Robert Hume sees the appearance of the form "as one symptom of a widespread shift away from neo-classical ideals of order and reason, toward romantic belief in emotion and imagination." The subtitle "A Gothic Story" given by Walpole to his novel also suggests a breakaway from regularity, since, "in the mid-eighteenth century 'Gothic' meant basically antique and barbarous with reference to architecture. In this context it carried the connotation of the rude, wild and irregular."

The Gothic novel therefore marks a victory over neo-classical standards. It helped create a kind of emotional reflex in the presence of certain settings which became automatically associated with the atmosphere put into them by Walpole, Mrs. Radcliffe or Lewis. Mountains, like ruins, forests, castles, are a part of this atmosphere, and though they are not one of the major elements of setting, the Gothic genre must be mentioned because it popularized the feeling which led to their appreciation.

This kind of setting, it must be added, was further enriched by Ossianic reminiscences. Macpherson's Fragments of 1760 were introduced into France by the Journal Etranger in the same year and included in the 1773 complete edition, translated by Le Tourneur in

1777.⁴⁶ Young's Night Thoughts (1742-45), also translated by Le Tourneur (1769), popularized the meditations on death, and solitude in desolate settings, but they do not include mountains.

The eighteenth-century sensibility therefore required thrilling experiences, which, in terms of nature, could be found in the Alps. As far as alpine poetry itself is concerned, the role of a few influential precursors is the direct cause of this fashion.

XI

In 1732 a poem in German appeared, not immediately influential outside of Swiss circles, but soon to be so after it had been translated into French in 1750: Albrecht von Haller's Die Alpen.⁴⁷ The Bernese scholar was primarily interested in botany and mineralogy. Moreover, his didactic purpose--he contributed to the legend of the free and virtuous Swiss in their mountains--left little room for a true appreciation of nature itself. In spite of the innovative title, only about sixty lines describe the Alps. But how different it is from the landscape imagined by the other Swiss poet Salomon Gessner. In his Idylls, translated into French eleven years after Haller's poem,

"Gessner . . . semble ignorer totalement l'existence des Alpes . . . Là-même où il aurait eu l'occasion d'un tableau . . . il se tait. Sous ce rapport, il marque un recul sensible, venant après Haller."⁴⁸

Gonzague de Reynold proceeds to find the reason for this absence: the scenery of the Idylls is, by convention, an Arcadia, which therefore excludes the wildness of high mountains. Haller, on the other hand,

extends his love of simple pastoral life to the setting which endows it with grandeur.

His role in the literary discovery of the Alps has been evaluated variously. Alfred Biese classifies Haller with the Anacreontists by means of a series of adjectives like idyllic, elegiac, pastoral, sentimental, bucolic. He rightly points out that Haller looked at landscapes from a moralizing or utilitarian viewpoint and did not appreciate mountain beauty. Cl.-E. Engel's opinion is summarized in Paul Van Tieghem's judgment: "Il est le premier dans la littérature européenne qui ait identifié l'idée de Suisse à celle de beautés alpêtres."⁴⁹ Certainly he did introduce the Alps into poetry, but as an element of philhelvetism. High mountains remain secondary in his eyes to the mountaineers who enjoy their moralizing influence. France and England adopted this philhelvetism.

XII

Jean-Jacques Rousseau recalls Haller in his portrayal of a Golden Age country. As Van Tieghem states, "Saint-Preux ne fait guère que reprendre en prose les strophes déjà violentes d'Albert de Haller contre la vie de société, la vie corrompue et luxueuse."⁵⁰ Van Tieghem means that La Nouvelle Héloïse (1761) relies more on a literary fashion already existing than on the citizen of Geneva's personal predilection for uncultivated nature. Rousseau's philosophy of the noble savage found an appropriate confirmation in a setting idealized by Haller. But the famous "Letter on the Valais" reveals less about

the inhabitants--"leur simplicité, . . . leur égalité d'âme, . . .
 cette paisible tranquillité qui les rend heureux par l'exemption des
 peines plutôt que par le goût des plaisirs"⁵¹--than about the effect
 of aethereal air of the soul. The physical movement of climbing
 brings about its corollary: spiritual elevation. The passage is
 worth quoting at length for it yields the key to an understanding of
 less explicit writing about mountains:

. . . sur les hautes montagnes . . . les méditations . . .
 prennent je ne sais quel caractère grand et sublime, propor-
 tionné aux objets qui nous frappent, je ne sais quelle volupté
 tranquille qui n'a rien d'acre et de sensuel. Il semble qu'en
 s'élevant au dessus du séjour des hommes on y laisse tous les
 sentiments bas et terrestres, et qu'à mesure qu'on approche des
 régions éthérées l'âme contracte quelque chose de leur inalté-
 rable pureté.* (p. 78)

Saint-Preux suggests the movement from description to medita-
 tion which directs so many poems of Wordsworth and Lamartine, like
 "Tintern Abbey" or "L'Isolement," a movement which parallels the "three-
 fold process of the 'pleasure of the Imagination'" summed up by M. H.
 Nicolson apropos of Dennis', Shaftesbury's and Addison's "aesthetics
 of the infinite":

From Infinite God through vast Nature to the soul of man; from
 the soul of man through vast Nature back to Infinite God.⁵²

The symbolic value of the physically great inspires an
 attitude which is easily labelled "Rousseauistic" since both French
 and English "pilgrims" to Clarens or to a mountain-top experienced it
 in the fashion of Saint-Preux.⁵³

*Notice the "je ne sais quoi" associated with the sublime.

XIII

A young writer from Strasbourg, Ramond de Carbonnières, also felt elated when climbing. He makes a similar comment: "De pareilles sensations soulèvent aisément cette espèce d'enthousiasme qui engendre les grandes idées," and adds a quotation from Rousseau.⁵⁴ Ramond actually knew the zone of glaciers which Rousseau preferred to see from a distance and therefore perceived a stronger contrast between the spark of illumination and the down-to-earth routine of life in the plain:

Jamais je ne suis redescendu de ces sommets sans éprouver qu'un poids retombait sur moi . . . J'étais dans la situation où se trouverait un homme qui serait rendu à la faiblesse de ses sens humains, après l'instant où ses yeux, dessillés par un être plus grand, auraient joui du spectacle des merveilles cachées qui nous environnent.⁵⁵

This quasi-mystical experience obviously originates in the light reverberated by glaciers, a fact which, if it weakens the need to explain it by "un être plus grand," does not diminish the reality of the psychological shock.

Louis Cazamian analyzes the organic and sensitive components of "l'intuition panthéiste": such a study enlightens the creative process but falls short of explaining the success of the artistic expression.⁵⁶ Ramond explored the literary resources of high alpine landscapes. Translating William Coxe's Sketches of the Natural, Civil and Political State of Switzerland in 1781, two years after its publication, he added his own Observations, starting the fashion of detailed description free from didactic comments which he carried on in his Voyage dans les Pyrénées and which influenced Wordsworth, who,

like others, read Ramond in preparation for his journey to the Continent.⁵⁷

Soon after Ramond's popularity as a guide had spread, the French Revolution brought hundreds of exiles to Switzerland whose discovery of high mountains gained for the Alps a definite place in life and literature. The period of the pioneers was over, except for alpinism, which had only just begun: Horace-Bénédict de Saussure reached the top of Mont Blanc on August 3, 1787.

As for the Swiss-French poets, they celebrated their native Alps much later: Juste Olivier, the best of them, published between 1830 and 1875. They often wrote patriotic poems sung at national feasts, like F. Monneron's "Chant du Montagnard."

XIV

Less specifically alpine, but poetically more significant is the image of the mountain in Goethe and Hölderlin.

Goethe resorts to the mountain image to express peace:

Über allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh.
("Ein Gleiches [Wandrer's Nachtlid],"
ll. 1-2, p. 142)⁵⁸

The peace that the poet enjoys is deep because it originates in a kind of mystical union with nature ("Ganymed," pp. 46-47). The walk through nature towards the Brocken suggests the spiritual journey of man, following his destiny:

Denn ein Gott hat
Jedem seine Bahn
Vorgezeichnet.

("Harzreise im Winter," ll. 6-8, p. 50)

Love guides him and even carries him up "mit dem beizenden Sturm"

(l. 73, p. 52).

Physical height is associated with the spiritual height of poetry, as well as of religion, reached in the Psalms. But the Brocken is also the dwelling-place of spirits who have dangerous magic powers and watch over many buried treasures ("Harzreise im Winter," p. 52. Faust I, "Walpurgisnacht," ll. 3835ff., pp. 121ff.)

In Hölderlin's poetry also, the mountain is an ambiguous figure. Its positive sides are many: it dispenses the gift of water to the land ("Heimkunft," "Der Rhein"); it shelters the village "in der Tiefe drinnen" ("Heimkunft," p. 120); it is a haven of peace:

Ruhig glänzen indes die silbernen Höhen darüber.

("Heimkunft," vs. 11, p. 120)

But these peaceful heights hide an eternal battle: first the loving conflict of the wind and chaotic rocks ("Heimkunft"), then the desperate effort of the Rhine to escape its bounds. This struggle occurs:

. . . drin im Gebirg,
Tief unter den silbernen Gipfeln.
("Der Rhein," p. 147)

As Wordsworth in the Simplon Pass episode indicates strife by the use of contrasts, Hölderlin expresses a turmoil by means of oxymoron: "helle Nacht," "langsam eilt," "liebende Streit," etc. ("Heimkunft," p. 119).⁵⁹ There are contradictory movements in nature itself, which appear most clearly in a mountain scenery. Poetry must

synthesize these dialectical oppositions. The poet hopes that if the pendulum swings faster and faster between opposites such as: light and darkness, rapidity and slowness, love and hate, joy and fear, it will eventually seem to stand still. But to see it at rest, one must look at it from a higher vantage-point, that is from the mountaintop. Yet since the harmony of the summit is only an appearance covering up the inner conflict, one has to go still higher, to God, to find peace.

In his article on "Intentional Structure of the Romantic Image," Paul de Man compares this upward movement to the "levitation" manifested in the Simplon Pass description ("workings of one mind . . . Characters of the great Apocalypse").⁶⁰ Paul de Man extends the comparison to Rousseau's "Lettre sur le Valais," where he speaks of a "je ne sais quoi . . . de surnaturel." Yet the three poets seem to me to reach different conclusions. Rousseau overcomes the contradictions of nature by escaping to the spiritual world. Wordsworth finds in the spiritual world an assurance that the polarities of nature really fit into a plan and therefore there is harmony. As for Hölderlin, he does not rest after reaching the level of the imagination. On the contrary, he stresses this conflict of the elements (not in "Heimkunft," but in "Der Rhein").

The mountain in Hölderlin therefore represents the human plight in its most acute form. Facing the open antagonism of superior forces, man also undergoes an inner struggle against his spiritual bonds. He is caught in the confusion of nature. Just as man has to struggle for life in a hostile environment, he who stands on a mountain is exposed to danger:

. . . und furchtlos gehn
 Die Söhne der Alpen über den Abgrund weg
 Auf leichtgebaute Brücken.
 ("Patmos," p. 176)

The poet is like one of the "sons of the Alps": he is more liable to fall into abysses than the people who live at the foot of the mountain. But he is also endowed with more power:

Wo aber Gefahr ist, wächst
 Das Rettende auch.
 (Ibid.)

He possesses a saving power because he acts in the name of mankind. He is able to defy the lightning of this other corporate person, Jesus Christ ("Patmos," p. 182). In fact, their titanic confrontation stands for mankind's resistance against God. The "sons of the Alps" and those who serve Mother Earth (*ibid.*) have titanic features. The heaped summits on which they live are within each other's reach:

Drum, da gehäuft sind rings
 Die Gipfel der Zeit, und die Liebsten
 Nah wohnen . . .
 ("Patmos," p. 176)

Yet at the same time each summit is cut off from communication, and nobody can give water to the most loved ones, who will stay:

. . . ermattend auf
 Getrenntesten Bergen.
 ("Patmos," pp. 176-77)

XV

Travel conditions and itineraries, the picturesque in painting and landscape gardening, the sublime, Gothic and Ossianic scenery, Haller's, Rousseau's and Ramond's descriptions, Goethe's and Hölderlin's poems: such are the main landmarks on the road to "mountain glory."

The initial push and force of the whole change are to be found, as M. H. Nicolson proved, in the "aesthetics of the infinite," developed after the controversy about the origin of mountains. With this philosophical basis, grand and wild scenery had a raison d'être in art. The natural sublime thus existed in England earlier than in France, where l'art de plaire, reliance on the reader's feeling and the freedom of genius were preparing the ground for it. The Alps at last yielded their treasures of sublime to literature.

The Alps or mountains in general? A problem arises because of the ambiguity of the term "mountain." It either implies wild, snow-capped peaks or it means any height taken as viewpoint. The poems of Dyer and Denham are an example of the second meaning. The use of a hill to heighten an event of great importance has been known throughout literature: from Parnassus, Golgotha, Dante's Purgatory, to Victor Hugo's place of revelation in "La Bouche de l'ombre." As we saw apropos of the medieval and the Renaissance allegorizations, the mountain has a mythical value. What is the connection between the mountain as a myth known and expressed by men of all times, and the Alps, the discovery of which by literature is a historical phenomenon—the phenomenon we have been trying to delineate?

In order to suggest a solution, we have first to describe the myth as it is known through anthropology.



XVI

In the most ancient culture, according to Mircea Eliade, we meet the representation of a three-level cosmos like the western classical image prevalent until Copernicus: heaven above, earth in the middle and hell below. The three levels are connected in a "Centre" along one axis, as for instance in Jerusalem, the rock of the Temple, which was close to the sky and also built above subterranean waters. A mountain therefore is the appropriate location of the centre of the world, where the Creation started--it is called the navel of the world --and where communication with the gods is possible. Eliade gives the example of the Semang, pygmies of the Malay peninsula, who "say that the trunk of a tree formerly connected the summit of the Cosmic Mountain, the Centre of the World, with Heaven."⁶¹

Several elements are present here: the tree, which, like a ladder or staircase, may also replace the mountain as a means to climb to heaven; the term "formerly," which implies a loss of the easy communication with the gods which men used to enjoy before some fault, after which the privileged mountain was levelled down. Now only a holy man, the shaman, has access to the upper level, and this only spiritually, no longer in material and ordinary life as was formerly the case. He climbs a tree, a ladder or a mountain. Similarly "the soul of the deceased ascends the pathway up a mountain . . . In Assyrian, the common expression for the verb 'to die' is 'to clutch the mountain.'"⁶² Therefore, by climbing up a sacred tower, or a temple built on a rock or shaped like an artificial mountain, one transcends earthly contingencies and recovers the divine state enjoyed

in a former Paradise.

The ascension ritual follows a ritual of descent into a cave, an initiatory ordeal. Gérard de Nerval utilizes the myth in an almost pure form: in Aurélia, he not only reaches the top of a mountain but penetrates into its depth. In other words, not content to reach the highest stage of a physical and spiritual ascent, he goes into the concrete mass of matter and down into its core in order to know it from inside out and to gather up its whole being in a single act of knowing.⁶³ Christ's descent into hell compares best with the experience attempted by Nerval, for Christ not only achieves a full knowledge but recapitulates the whole creation; he therefore touches the root of beings more literally than through an act of the knowing mind. Jocelyn's grotto in the high Alps of Savoy can be seen in the light of this myth too, for after much difficulty on the way he reaches a chosen place and then spends the winter in a cave. The latter experience does not stand in opposition to the joy felt on the mountains: rather it is a necessary complement, as the initiation ritual is to the ascension ritual.⁶⁴

The mythical implications described by Eliade support a literary use of the mountain as the setting for vital experiences, comparable to communication with the gods, or as the viewpoint from which one dominates the world, being at the centre of it. These fundamental experiences occur again and again, provoked by any height, and are given literary expression throughout the centuries.

However, the Alps and other high summits, which should also have been considered like a kind of Jacob's ladder, were ignored or

discarded because of prevalent theories which condemned them, or simply for lack of knowledge. When they became part of literature, the quality which was recognized first was the awesome majesty of a place that does not belong to normal life. The person who ventures to these heights thinks that he has been granted an exceptional vision: Saint-Preux feels purified, so does Ramond. They are set apart like the holy men of the Semang culture. There is a mutual effect between "the mountain" and "high mountains": descriptions of alpine scenery acquire more depth from the myth which exists as a substratum, and the discovery of the Alps increases the value of the symbolic elements in the mountain theme, even when this theme is used without any reference to the Alps themselves, as in the Lyrical Ballads.

CHAPTER III

THE SUBLIME IN THE POEMS CONTRIBUTED

BY WORDSWORTH TO THE 1798

LYRICAL BALLADS

As Cl.-E. Engel notes in La Littérature alpestre, Wordsworth's poetry gave a new impulse to the mountain theme, which, at least when related to the Alps, had degenerated into stereotyped descriptions and feelings made fashionable by Rousseau.¹ As mentioned before, Wordsworth knew the mountains of his native Lake District as well as the Alps, where he travelled already at the age of twenty. He naturally compared them both in the Guide to the Lakes (1810): "Among the Alps are few places that do not preclude the feeling of tranquil sublimity," whereas out of the milder English mountains "proceeds a sense of stability and permanence that is, to many minds, more grateful."² This comparison is set in terms of the sublime; in effect, in Wordsworth's opinion, the sublime can be experienced in Westmoreland as well as in the Alps, perhaps even better, for terror is not so overwhelming in the English mountains, and Burke's balance of "tranquillity tinged with terror" is maintained. The Lake District landscape combines classical repose with thoughts of eternity.*

*According to Rictor Norton, the sublime is characterized by dynamic opposition. See "Aesthetic Gothic Horror," Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, XXI (1972), 33.

Wordsworth established this comparison after he had explored several roads leading to the sublime. Whereas Chapter IV will deal specifically with the mountain, this Chapter will first try to determine what kind of sublimity the Lyrical Ballads achieve, this analysis being necessary to the fuller understanding of the ways in which Wordsworth uses the mountain as a setting and as a symbol.

A recent thesis on "Wordsworth and the Sublime" focuses on the eighteenth-century tradition (Dennis, John Baillie's Essay on the Sublime of 1747 and Burke) as it explains the space metaphors as well as the theory of imagination of Wordsworth's poetical works.³ It expressly omits the "literary sublime," by which the author probably means the rhetorical sublime. I am however, in this respect, examining the Lyrical Ballads from the point of view of Longinus' treatise on the sublime, according to which rhetorical devices are inseparable from aesthetical experience.

I

. . . I have felt
 A presence that disturbs me with the joy
 Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
 Of something far more deeply interfused,
 Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
 And the round ocean, and the living air,
 And the blue sky, and in the mind of man,
 A motion and a spirit, that impels
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
 And rolls through all things.
 ("Tintern Abbey," pp. 114-15)

"Tintern Abbey" gives the clue to the colouring which the sublime takes in the poems that Wordsworth contributed to the Lyrical

Ballads of 1798. It is not alien to the core of Wordsworth's faith in the power of poetry to express the "sympathies" which exist between men and natural objects and even to achieve "the first and last knowledge."⁴

By the time he revisited the banks of the Wye, Wordsworth had acquired a feeling for the sublime in nature. He uses the term "sublime" in connection both with elevated thoughts and with natural objects, but the phrase "a sense sublime" proves that he places sublimity in the subject rather than in the exterior object. Moreover, he does not merely sense the grandeur of a few elements of scenery, like the stereotyped ocean: he actually synthesizes various details into the one global experience of a unifying spirit--the trite example of the "ocean" is qualified by the evocative adjective "round."

Because Wordsworth attributes so much meaning to the term "sublime," his Lyrical Ballads are worth examining in the light of a theoretical tradition which discusses the sublime in relation to subject-matter, audience and the poet himself. Wordsworth knew Longinus and also had an "absurd craze" about the Longinian John Dennis.⁵ He was certainly aware of the eighteenth-century distinctions between the picturesque, the beautiful and the sublime, as the above-mentioned comparison between the Alps and the Lake District shows. In the Lyrical Ballads, he used the picturesque in "Tintern Abbey." The full title, which gives date, place and circumstances, and names a beauty-spot --"Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey. On revisiting the banks of the Wye during a tour, July 13, 1798"--echoes the usual guide books describing picturesque tours. But the poem does not analyze the

landscape in more detail than twenty lines of preliminary observations on background, foreground and middle distance: it focuses on the poet's mind, "impress[ed] with quietness and beauty."⁶

As for the beautiful, it is exemplified in the serene setting of "Lines written near Richmond." This poem follows the rules of the beautiful: order, symmetry, loveliness and a size which can be encompassed by the mind. In fact it contrasts with the "variegated" or intentionally poor scenery of the other poems. Even there, however, emphasis is placed on the poet's mood.

With the exception of these two instances, Wordsworth availed himself more often of the sublime in the Lyrical Ballads because it was less overridden by conventions and thus it was open to new interpretations.

II

With regard to the subject-matter, the theory of the sublime influences the choice of both setting and characters. Wordsworth's characters are dependent on their environment, the more so in an associationistic poetry which, without going as far as Hartley's philosophy, illustrates the powerful impression of natural scenes on men.

Wordsworth attempts to achieve a permanent poetry which will not depend on fashion. For this reason, he deals with "great and permanent objects," to be sought, not in areas in the process of industrialization, but in the changeless hills of Cumberland or other mountainous counties. Such is the setting of the Lyrical Ballads.

Keats imagined Wordsworth on top of Helvellyn; the former naturally associated high mountains with great poetry and thus was praising the Lake District poet for the very endeavour that was in Wordsworth's mind when he regretted that Pope "unluckily . . . took the Plain when the Heights were within his reach."⁷

The mountain, which, like the ocean, transcends human upheavals, stands as a figure of eternity and functions on several levels. It "connect[s] / The landscape with the quiet of the sky" ("Tintern Abbey," ll. 7-8, p. 112), uniting the earth to infinite space; the link with the sky as well as with the past and the future suggests a continuous life, identical with this joy which "Rang loud through the meadow and wood" ("The Convict," l. 4, p. 109) and touched "the bare trees, and mountains bare, / And grass in the green field" ("Lines written at a small distance . . .," ll. 7-8, p. 55). The first function of a great object such as a mountain is therefore to produce the sublime sense of unity in nature: the second concerns the characters who are under the influence of "those stronger emotions which a region of mountains is peculiarly fitted to excite":⁸ on a third level, as W. J. B. Owen remarks, "the . . . permanent nature of the mountain will confer a similar persistence of interest of the poetry which deals with it."⁹

Wordsworth chooses the hills of Cumberland as his setting because of their stability, which he either confirms through the regular life of his characters--like Simon Lee--or contrasts with their peregrinations--like those of the Female Vagrant.

The characters of the Lyrical Ballads communicate with their natural setting and thus extend to the human world the unifying spirit

which Wordsworth seeks to discover. This communion constitutes one aspect of the sublime. Simultaneously, in the same collection, Wordsworth explores a new aspect: taking an original standpoint, he discovers the sublime in the very humble life of his rustic characters.

Kant warns the cultivated reader that natural grandeur often brings with it danger, misery, and distress to simple-minded peasants.¹⁰ The Lake District poet has a first-hand knowledge of the difficulty of earning a living in a poor and mountainous area. Several poems are based on "facts which took place within his personal observation." He presents them because of the human emotions involved in those realistic stories. "The essential passions of the heart" and "the manner in which we associate ideas in a state of excitement" are best seen at work in "rural life." In this early phase of his production, Wordsworth is, according to one critic, "almost totally obsessed with the value of natural response."¹¹ In a character such as Martha or the narrator of "The Thorn," he shows the effect of Burke's pain and terror produced by the stormy and desolate ridge and by the witch-story plot. Even a grand setting is not always painted with the colours of admiration: as later at the Simplon, he notes the cruel aspects of nature too. Yet the frightening side of nature has always been sublime. What is new in the Lyrical Ballads is not the sublimity found in "The Thorn," but that of plain scenes like Simon Lee's gratitude, the child's stubborn faith in "We are seven" or the shepherd's loss in "The last of the Flock."

Humble characters reveal "elementary feelings" aroused by the sufferings of a poor life. What are their emotions in the presence of

hills and vales which surround, feed, threaten and outlive them? They simply accept them as part of their life. Wordsworth shows the interaction between man and nature by means of discreet points of style which Roger Murray has demonstrated in his analysis of the 1800 Lyrical Ballads; ¹² what Murray has found in the 1800 edition is also true of the 1798 volume, as can be illustrated by the following examples:

Wordsworth indulges in very common personifications like "the mountain's head" ("The Tables turned," l. 5, p. 104). This example does not sound convincing on its own, but one must keep in mind that "The Tables turned" is part of a collection which includes subtler ways of linking the inanimate with the animate. Actions are attributed to inanimate plants like "the budding twigs" which "spread out their fan" ("Lines written in early spring," l. 17, p. 66) or "the equinoctial deep" which "ran mountains-high" ("The Female Vagrant," ll. 110-10, p. 45). There are as well a few more striking personifications such as: "every flower / Enjoys the air it breathes" ("Lines written in early spring," ll. 11-12, p. 66). Here the undercurrent idea comes out clearly: the gap between man and nature can be bridged when we discover the continuity of life among all that exists. The inverse relationship is expressed through similes, which help describe a person by referring to nature: Simon Lee's cheek "is like a cherry" (l. 16, p. 57), boy and girl sing "like little birds in May" ("The Female Vagrant," l. 67, p. 43).

The characters are thus closely associated with nature, so much so that Murray entitles a chapter of his study: "characters of

place": the people belong to the place, and this conveys a unity between the two worlds. The poet realizes in his experiment with rustic people the unified vision of the universe which truly gives him a "sense sublime."

III

Wordsworth writes for an audience. We have seen that he uses figures to convey his sense of the unity which exists between characters and places. Like Longinus he justifies departures from plain statement by calling upon "human passion." His aim is not to transmit facts as science does, but to arouse in the reader an emotion perhaps echoing that of the character or more often recalling the poet's concern.

The choice of rustic subject-matter has been made in order to maintain close contact with a language that is simple and lasting. Feelings independent of vanity dictate "unelaborated expressions" of a basic and permanent nature. His audience was to encompass posterity as well as contemporary society. In whatever age, he will be appreciated by those who can join in this sincere expression of feeling attempted by the poet and his characters. They will be able to do so precisely because human nature remains constant and the language which follows it closely cannot change much--it is a "philosophical" language. The stability of rustic environment in the end allows the poet to be intelligible to a wider public. It is also a sign of sublimity, according to Longinus, to satisfy "the verdict . . . of . . . dissimilar individuals." (Section VII, p. 12).

The universal consensus that Wordsworth is especially seeking is a consensus of pleasure. In order to please his audience, he has to discard the distasteful, but he alters his subject-matter only in this respect. Wordsworth's principle of selectivity is therefore very limited, whereas in Longinus' view the poet makes a new "body" out of the fragments he has picked out (Section X, p. 22). We can see in Wordsworth the difficult task of maintaining a balance between aesthetic distance and emotional involvement: the reader's artistic sense must be satisfied by a blending of realism and poetical "colouring" --hence the use of metre. On the other hand, a slightly excessive interference would dispel the charm which holds the reader. How is Wordsworth to achieve this precarious balance? The tradition of the sublime provides him with a solution: the "flash" of intensity.

Longinus insists on the brevity of a sublime passage.* Wordsworth also epitomizes accumulated feeling in short, striking lines. For instance, a spark of hope shines in the Female Vagrant's final words, at the end of a long list of sorrows:

And now across this moor my steps I bend
 --Oh! tell me whither--for no earthly friend
 Have I.

(ll. 265-67, p. 50)

The adjective "earthly" implies a faith in the divine, which is prepared by the references to prayer in the first stanzas. Characters such as the Old Man travelling or the Idiot Boy likewise pronounce conclusive

*I should say a passage which has a sublime effect since I am dealing with the subjective notion of the sublime widespread at the end of the eighteenth-century. But Longinus often applies the term to style. The reference is to Section XII, pp. 2-3.

statements, while a similar effect is produced by the lines: "we are seven" (pp. 63-65), or "the last of all my flock" (pp. 77 and 80), which recur like refrains. Some startling lines are simply gnomic sentences, as for instance: "what man has made of man" of "Lines written in early spring" (l. 24, p. 66).

Since these passages, set in simple language as Longinus would have them, do not even refer to a noble idea--with the exception of "The Female Vagrant"--they contribute to the effect of "sublimity in humility" conveyed by the Lyrical Ballads.^{*} This does not imply that Wordsworth specifically modified Longinus' "flash" of intensity to fit his own purpose--he could find the device in question in folk literature¹⁴--but simply demonstrates that even the language of common man does not exclude rhetoric if by rhetoric one means the art of moving the audience.

Another example of a device used in the Lyrical Ballads and recommended by the Peri Hupsous is what Longinus calls "the transposition of persons" and what a modern critic terms as, "a change in point of view."¹⁵ It is used by the narrator of "The Thorn," to make the reader immediately and repeatedly "think that he is moving in the midst of the dangers described" (Section XXVI, p. 50):

There is a thorn; it looks so old,
In truth you'd find it hard to say
How it could ever have been young.
(ll. 1-3, p. 66)

^{*}In "Wordsworth and the Sublime," Wlecke says that "humilitas-sublimitas" is "descriptive not only of Wordsworth's deepest sense of the nature of the real, but also of his explicitly formulated poetic program" (p. 14).

This use of the second person also characterizes the popular ballad form.¹⁶ Because of the narrator's special point of view--the "captain" wants to impress a credulous audience--"The Thorn" offers still another example of a folk literature artifice which coincides with Longinus' figures. The "Questions and Interrogations" device which the Greek treatise gives as a way to "make the words not only more sublime, but actually more convincing" (Section XVIII, p. 42), forms the structure of stanzas VIII to XI, with questions in VIII and X, answers in IX and XI, and an echo in stanza XX. This device of course is common in the ballad form: "Goody Blake and Harry Gill" for example is built on that pattern, while the story of "The Idiot Boy" is prompted by a question.

Other characteristics of Wordsworth's diction in the Lyrical Ballads definitely belong to uneducated speech and have no direct counterpart in Longinus' list of figures--such are for instance irregularities of syntax and repetitions of words with augmentations.¹⁷ The treatise On the Sublime would, however, approve of them because they are justified by true emotion.

This cross-section of lines from the Lyrical Ballads shows that Wordsworth does not reject figures. He knows, like Longinus, that great conceptions do not automatically engender a great poem: the poet must have a flexible language at his service. The numerous resources of the language are thus enumerated by Longinus and used unobtrusively by Wordsworth. Yet because the means might become too prominent and even hide an absence of great conceptions, both writers emphasize the need for sincerity. Wordsworth insists on sincere passion while Longinus says: "sublimity and passion are a help

against the suspicion attaching to the use of figures" (Section XVII, p. 41).

Given the imprecision of the term "sublime"--applied in the Greek work either to the poet's mind or to a style--Longinus' judgment coincides with Wordsworth's practice and also with the critical opinions stated in the Prefaces to the Lyrical Ballads. Even Longinus' fourth and fifth sources of the sublime--phraseology and composition--find echoes in Wordsworth's comments on "simple and unelaborated expressions" and metre. This concurrence does not prove a direct influence, still less imitation, but brings to the focus the eternal problem of reaching a balance in a poem between emotion and artistic touch. The revaluation of poetical language which Wordsworth undertakes does not discard the traditional means: it breathes a new life into them.

IV

Unlike Longinus, who devotes twenty-five sections to the study of figures, Wordsworth in his criticism keeps in mind the central point of his argument and speaks of the poet, especially in the 1802 Preface. He is not afraid of stressing sincerity, because he feels confident that he has something to communicate: his own sense of unity in general, and his specific experiences of striking characters and places. "To rectify men's feeling" requires a conviction on his part by no means wholly intellectual, but rather a reliving of the original experience. The first experience produces a ripple on the surface of the poet's soul, a ripple which is gradually erased

but generates a second ring of emotion which is the appropriate mood for composition. Finally, coming from this centre where the exterior object first hit the poet's soul, a third concentric ring appears, this time in the reader, who, in Longinus' terms, "is filled with joy and exultation" (Section VII, p. 12).

The pleasure which the reader finds in the Lyrical Ballads comes from an increased sensitivity to "human passions" presented to him through the sympathetic imagination of the poet. Instead of observing facts, he receives the impact of the poet's own feelings. An exact imitation of physical objects is out of the question: everybody and everything appears under an emotional colouring, in a language rich in terms denoting emotion.¹⁸ Longinus' "strong passion" is given by Wordsworth a much greater preeminence, for it becomes a source of knowledge more valuable than science, and even a means of seeing "into the life of things" ("Tintern Abbey"). Instead of analyzing men and things, the poet perceives the essential unity of the universe and endeavours to convey an impression of continuity in his work.

Our study of the 1798 Lyrical Ballads in the light of Longinus' treatise shows that Wordsworth wishes to communicate to his reader the "sense sublime" that he experiences and that he does so by means of a communion; "communication" to him does not simply imply a transmission of ideas: the reader like the poet must become involved, must become part of the life that "rolls through all things", or--to combine an image from Longinus with one from Wordsworth--to hear the harmony of life in the melody of words.

CHAPTER IV

MOUNTAINS AS A SOURCE OF SUBLIMITY IN WORDSWORTH'S POETRY (1787-1805)

The Lyrical Ballads, as we have seen, express the sublimity of a communion between poet, reader, characters and, above all, nature. Because this communion is achieved through a kind of "negative capability" directed towards scenes of humble life, descriptions of natural grandeur are not essential to the sublime of the Lyrical Ballads.

The same is not true of Wordsworth's earlier poems. An Evening Walk and Descriptive Sketches rely on the usual picturesque and sublime landscape descriptions in order to convey the poet's joy of being at one with his environment. Coming later, The Prelude differs from both the Lyrical Ballads and the earlier poems. It attempts to communicate the same elated feeling, but from another point of view.

Wordsworth's approach to natural grandeur had changed by the time he came to write The Prelude. A lover of mountains and a keen Rambler, he always tried to write poetry that would reflect the impressions he received from his surroundings. Mountains were one of the principal agents of these impressions: witness the story of his childhood in The Prelude. The boat-stealing episode of Book I is particularly significant in this respect. The huge cliff, rising up and striding after the young thief, embodied the voice of Nature which was at the same time the voice of conscience (ll. 372ff.,

pp. 22ff.)

Wordsworth sought the best way to give poetical expression to the "beauty and fear" experienced in mountains. This chapter will examine his successive attempts.

I

Wordsworth wrote his early poem, An Evening Walk, in 1787, before he went to the Alps and saw a typical sublime setting, but he found in the Lakes a variety of natural scenes in which milder and sterner beauties alternate. The poem follows the topographical tradition of Drayton, Denham, Dyer, Gray or Collins, as well as of more obscure lovers of nature who wrote enthusiastic descriptions of the Lake District in the period immediately preceding the publication of An Evening Walk.¹ This poem consists of a succession of pictures at noon, sunset, twilight, by darkness and by moonlight, linked in a chronological pattern, as well as progressively peopled--by potters, a peasant, a female beggar and even spirits--and enriched with colours and sounds. Observations and readings explain the number of details, also due to a blending of present impressions with past memories. The "Author's Regret of his Youth passed amongst" the Lakes (p. 4) announces the deeper feeling experienced "on revisiting the banks of the Wye" but it is not developed, except for the melancholy mood that adds to the gloom of the mountain's "giant reach" (l. 337, p. 32) and "black wall" (l. 372, p. 34) in the dark. The wilder aspects of "tremulous cliffs" (l. 6, p. 4), craggs, rocks and forests contrast

within the same couplets with beautiful scenes: "opening lakes" (l. 4, p. 4) and "emerald meads" (l. 10, p. 4), while a similar opposition occurs between sounds: roar of waterfall and "silent waves" (l. 5, p. 4). This is particularly striking in the opening lines of the poem, but it is also noticeable in the general alternation of light and darkness, movement and static phase, noise and hush, wildness and human life, heights and low meadows. The eye and the ear are constantly alert and desirous of new perceptions. In this context, mountains are necessary for they provide the variety which the poet seeks. They neither create monotony nor provoke a feeling of imprisonment: if the young boy pants with impatience at the sight of the summits, it is not so much because he wishes to discover the world beyond them as because he wants to conquer them. The later version of the poem speaks of passes and suggests a longing for the road beyond, but the early text emphasizes the attraction of the summits themselves (ll. 35-36, p. 6).*

The idea of conquest reappears in the fight of the moon against darkness and its main proponents, the hills, which are "impervious to light" (ll. 409-10, p. 36). This final scene picks up again the theme of melancholy expressed at the beginning, for--in a traditional use of imagery--the light of the moon suggests subdued hope:

*It coincides with the desire to go to the Alps. Wordsworth admittedly wishes to cross the Alps but in The Prelude he does not relate how he anticipated looking over Italy: on the contrary, he had "hopes that pointed to the clouds" (1850, VI, 587, p. 209) and longed to reach the top of the Alps.

But now the clear-bright Moon her zenith gains,

 The deepest dell the mountain's breast displays,

 The scene is waken'd, yet its peace unbroke.
 (ll. 423, 425, 429, p. 38)

The main elements of An Evening Walk agree with the descriptive tradition. The poem as a whole follows the usual pattern: it is chronological and progressively enriched by details. The image of light is positive, even moonlight, which at the same time conveys a certain nostalgia consistent with the traditionally ambivalent figure of the moon. The diction also, as analyzed by Emile Legouis, does not break away from tradition; it includes personifications, quotations from earlier poems, Miltonic allusions, periphrases and unusual epithets.²

In An Evening Walk, Wordsworth attempted to express his love for the kind of nature he had known from childhood on, but his understanding of what attracted him was not clear enough yet to free him from a strong tradition. He therefore tried afterwards to communicate his love of nature by depicting a more irresistible kind of scenery: the Alps.³

II

In 1790, at the age of twenty, Wordsworth undertook a walking tour in the Alps with his friend Robert Jones. A letter to his sister Dorothy gives the bare facts of their itinerary and shows also that he was familiar with the picturesque descriptions of the Alps.⁴ The poet of An Evening Walk was once more hunting for images;

he even went back to some places to make sure that he would remember them. The visual data that he stored up constitute the subject-matter of Descriptive Sketches which he wrote during the two years following his journey and published with An Evening Walk in 1793. The couplet form of Descriptive Sketches and its topographical genre again impede its unity, and contrasts are even more accentuated than in the milder English scenery of An Evening Walk. Clichés such as "purple mountains," "towering peaks," "secluded vale" and personifications of abstract ideas like Danger, Hope, Pleasure, Penury (condemned by the 1800 Preface to the Lyrical Ballads as bad "poetic diction") are plentiful in this conventional treatment of a subject-matter which arouses definite expectations.⁵ The Alps were a recognized source of the sublime and Wordsworth was trying his hand at a poetry of nature more open to new possibilities than the picturesque, and also more fashionable, for the loss of importance of the picturesque coincided with Wordsworth's own disparagement of it. In a footnote to one of the most striking scenes of Descriptive Sketches: the storm on a lake of Central Switzerland, the poet declares that he consults his feelings rather than "the cold rules of painting" (note to l. 347, p. 62). Yet, in spite of his reliance on personal emotion, his attempt at sublimity is too mechanical to succeed: the play of light and darkness, the insuperable rocks and even the avalanche do not automatically make great poetry.

Wordsworth was expecting his sketches to somehow reproduce the flashes of impressions that the Alps had made on him, in the same way as during his journey he went to celebrated scenes with a pre-

conceived idea of what they were going to be and to provoke in the onlooker. The experiences which follow one another always leave the poet slightly disappointed. His "pensive step" (l. 165, p. 52) takes him to places where he sighs (l. 53, p. 46) or is "more pleas'd" (l. 80, p. 48) or has "romantic dreams" (l. 283, p. 58), and always leads him further on. Descriptive Sketches implies a melancholy which Wordsworth also expected from his friend Jones, to whom he dedicated his souvenir of their journey. Yet the letter to Dorothy refers to delight and mentions melancholy only at the thought of her anxiety and their near departure from the Alps. Melancholy is part of the trappings of the picturesque, especially disappointment at the discovery of a famous place: William Gilpin for example felt the same kind of let-down at seeing a certain peak in Snowdonia as Wordsworth did when he saw Mont Blanc, according to The Prelude account of the journey. In Descriptive Sketches, therefore, melancholy is partly conventional.

Other elements however point to a sincere dissatisfaction: the accumulation of scenes, the need to rely on Ramond de Carbonnières for a few passages, the appeal to strong emotions (terror and awe) and recourse to Gothic means such as the occupation of the Chartreuse by the revolutionary army, the Grison gypsy's wanderings, the horrible fate of the chamois-hunter. These factors, added to one another prove that Wordsworth's own feelings were not yet deep enough: he was still longing for true contact with the "Power" of the Alps. The journey as it is related in Descriptive Sketches has been compared to a quest, and indeed Wordsworth, though he sincerely

loved mountains, had not yet found a satisfactory sense of communion with nature.⁶ All the expedients in the world, even as painstaking as actually climbing passes or peaks, will not produce the real sublime, for the sublime by definition must be heartfelt.

III

Wordsworth wrote Descriptive Sketches during a relatively happy period, in the sense that he had faith in himself and in the French Revolution. But in 1793, when England declared war on France, he fell into a state of despondency which affected "all the sources of [his] former strength" (Prel. XI, 78, p. 434). In particular, although he had acknowledged the inadequacy of the picturesque, he became more than ever enslaved to the frame that it imposes on nature. "The eye was master of the heart" (Prel. XI, 172, p. 438) and the "strong infection of the age" (Prel. XI, 156, p. 438) forced him to look for certain aspects of nature.

During this period of quest for images, he "roam'd from hill to hill, from rock to rock" (Prel. XI, 191, p. 440), just as he had gone "through the gorgeous Alps, roaming" (Prel. XI, 241-42, p. 442). According to him, however, those two kinds of wanderings in nature differed completely from each other because in the Alps he still enjoyed his young "worship" for nature and his pleasure was not spoilt by intruding judgment, whereas during the bad years, from 1793 to 1795, he suffered under the "tyranny" of the eye (Prel. XI, 180, p. 440).

Such is Wordsworth's own account of his development ten years after the experience, in The Prelude. But judging from the style of Descriptive Sketches, we must qualify Wordsworth's opinion: he certainly felt an unmixed delight in the Alps, but when it came to conveying his memories in a poem, he naturally followed the path of the immediately available tradition: the picturesque, better, he thought, the sublime. The sublime therefore was for him a technique to express his sincere but still inexplicable delight in mountains. He had not had the intuition of the first cause of the delight, which at the same time was to be a revelation of the true sublime.

By 1795 Wordsworth realized the inadequacy of his words. The fashionable way of expressing love of nature missed the point, while that of looking at nature stifled his joy. Even the dialectics of light and darkness, calm and thunder, heat and snow, were unable to reproduce the power that he dimly perceived in nature. He finally adopted an utterly different point of view and, starting again from the beginning, learned once more to appreciate very simple impressions --not to notice visual details for the sake of making a picture, but to acquire an "exquisite regard for common things" (Prel. XIII, 242, p. 494). He attributes this kind of re-education to his sister's influence. She gave a "mild grace" to his soul, which

. . . had been
Far longer what by Nature it was framed,
Longer retain'd its countenance severe,
A rock with torrents roaring, with the clouds
Familiar, and a favorite of the Stars.
(Prel. XIII, 228-32, p. 494)

The attempt at traditional sublime (rocks, clouds and stars), though it corresponded to Wordsworth's predilection, had proved a

failure. In the Lyrical Ballads the poet changed the emphasis; he turned his reader's attention to "common things" and gave the mountains a subtler role.

IV

Most of the 1798 Lyrical Ballads are set in a mountainous area, yet descriptions of mountain scenery of a certain length only occur in "The Thorn" and "Tintern Abbey." As we saw in Chapter III (Section II); this kind of landscape seems to have three functions; it links earth and sky and therefore unites otherwise completely separated elements of the universe: it tacitly heightens the characters' emotions: and finally it lends permanence to the poetry dealing with it. But there is no emphasis on any of these points; the poems take them for granted and focus on the characters' emotions.

On the whole, the Lyrical Ballads draw a negative picture of mountains. In "The Female Vagrant," they constitute the background of scenes of travelling--departure from the native cottage, mountain-high waves of the Atlantic, wanderings on moors with thieves--and in that case they increase the problems involved in each situation. In childhood however the Female Vagrant loves them as she watches her father from a cliff or feels protected by their green presence when she sings with the youth she loves. Looking down at the lake from the cliff, into the dizzy depth, makes her happy, but she is going to experience the Fall: later in life she is down at water level, and sees mountains above her threatening to drown her. Mountain,

ocean, mountain again, constitute more than the passive setting of her life: they embody in turn favourable and oppressing circumstances, from the "thoughtless joy" (l. 6, p. 4) of her youth to the afflictions of later years. Though the voyage back from America seems to give her a resting-place as permanent as the death it resembles, it actually leads somewhere, whereas her incessant wanderings "o'er moor and mountain" (l. 236, p. 49) have no direction, in spite of the lively days she spends for a while in the company of the thieves. A Gothic touch, echoing those of the longer poem Guilt and Sorrow (which includes the story of the Female Vagrant) enlivens the dreary landscape: the "potters" meet at night in June in a forest glade. This "life of happier sort" (l. 228, p. 49) involves threatening isolated farmers and using the mountains as hiding-places. Whether the Female Vagrant robs or begs, the mountains are now completely different from those of her childhood: they are agents of evil and death.

An earlier manuscript of "The Female Vagrant" makes two references to winds, interesting because different from the wind mentioned in "Tintern Abbey." One occurs at the departure from the "Father's cottage": "Turned out on the cold winds alone we wandered wide." The other regards the youth, whose voice "Charmed the rude winds to sleep, by river, field or grove."⁷ In both cases the winds add to the roughness of the setting and are negative.

A cold wind must also sweep the hill-side where Goody Blake lives, while, in "The Thorn," the mountain top with its gusts of icy wind is evocative of isolation, dryness, misery, madness, death and

perhaps even witchcraft.* In fact, all the negative elements are gathered up in the story of Martha Ray. Moreover she herself is mistaken by the onlooker for a crag: she becomes mineral, a part of the wild scenery.

Emphasis in "The Thorn" on what calls for terror is due to the point of view chosen by the author: the story is told by a narrator who relies on his hearers' belief in legends. A peasant population does in fact transmit legends and since this half-belief is one aspect of its life, the story of Martha Ray has its proper place and value in the collection of "ballads." At the same time, it implies the extent to which one can exaggerate mountain gloom, but it does not do so and exemplifies instead the realistic attitude towards mountains expressed in the Lyrical Ballads.

The mountains in the Lyrical Ballads bring more hardship than enjoyment. Wordsworth adopts the point of view of the peasants who have to live with them, not of the visitor who admires them because of the ideal image he projects on them. Wordsworth does not exaggerate danger either, for he would thus fall into the other trap in which the tourist is easily caught: to see the terrible for emotion's sake. In the Lyrical Ballads, the hills are part of the characters' lives and their barrenness, isolation and danger are taken for granted. Danger is real enough, but there is no malice in the

*It is interesting to note the similarity of Tieck's position, as for instance in "Der blonde Eckbert," "Der getreue Eckart und der Tannenhäuser," and "Der Runenberg": the mountain is a dead, mineral world with a bewitching influence. Compare also with Goethe; see above, Chapter II, Section XIV.

hills; the Idiot Boy's mother for instance accuses Betty, her son or the pony, but not nature. To curse the mountain easily becomes a pathetic fallacy, for in real life people do not maintain such a melodramatic attitude; they might unconsciously dramatize their situation by playing the role of victims of the mountain's vengeance, but more often they simply consider the hardships caused by the mountain as fatal circumstances. Swiss novels and short stories about the Alps seldom escape the pathetic fallacy, whereas Wordsworth is faithful to the point of view he has chosen: that of a narrator from inside the world of his characters.

Realism requires the poet to note positive sides as well. In fact, the Lyrical Ballads also include favourable descriptions, from very short details in a few poems to the major statements of "Tintern Abbey."

The "green-hills warm" of Liswyn in the "Anecdote for Fathers" (l. 41, p. 62) and the mountain's head" in "The Tables turned" (l. 5, p. 104)--where the slight personification suggests some complicity with the evening sun--do not make a strong case in favour of mountains, but "Lines written at a small distance" affirm more positively the "blessing" (l. 5, p. 55) that mountains enjoy in communion with the vegetable and the human worlds. "A sense of joy" (l. 6, p. 55) exists precisely because of that sharing, for under a barren surface there is life, and that same life beats in man's pulse. Even the mountains feel the joy of spring.*

*The mountains rejoice too in Psalm 113:4 ("Montes exultaverunt ut arietes") which Lamartine paraphrases in "Chants lyriques de Saül": "La montagne frémit de joie et d'espérance" (Méditations poétiques, éd. par Jean des Cognets, p. 64).

"Tintern Abbey" accentuates the joy which fills nature. Streams are fresh, lively and inexhaustible, cliffs are "lofty" (l. 5, p. 112) and majestic, rocks suggest agile and elegant movement, waters have a peaceful murmur and the wind this time denotes freedom. No hint of fear or loneliness darkens this picture, which could be the product of another misconception of mountain scenery: unrestrained admiration. However the positive description originates from a discovery that goes much further than enthusiasm for natural grandeur: the poet has the intuition of a unifying principle of life.

In "Tintern Abbey," as we saw in Chapter II from another angle, Wordsworth reached true sublimity; his instinctive love for nature at last was explained: there is one life running through all creation. He realized this more readily in the presence of natural grandeur, but he had not understood it at the time of his walking tour in the Alps, or of the composition of Descriptive Sketches, or even when he climbed Mount Snowdon in 1791. He had to give up descriptions of striking scenery altogether and become more humble, writing with respect about "incidents of common life," in order to find where the grandeur of nature lies. He followed Longinus' recommendations regarding subject-matter, figures and personal qualities, but his conception of the sublime had changed. In the 1793 poem, he had not yet reached a personal view of the sublime. It would appear that he had to start with a traditional notion expressed in a traditional form before he realized that he could only free himself from stereotyped diction by conceiving of another type of sublime.

The Lyrical Ballads then show a breakaway from usual

descriptions of mountains: its hills are not so high and majestic, for one thing. This reduction in scale is not due to the fact that Wordsworth despised the hills of England after he had seen the Alps. There is no hint at such a preference at the time of the Lyrical Ballads. Only later, in 1810, the Guide to the Lakes compared some of the Lake District views to the Alps, but in The Prelude of 1805 Wordsworth explicitly discarded useless comparisons; during his tour, he did not stand:

In hollow exultation, dealing forth
Hyperboles of praise comparative.

(Prel. VI, 663-64, p. 216)

He was prepared to enjoy the Alps because he loved his native mountains, which had given him a foretaste of his alpine experiences.

. . . whate'er
He saw, or heard, or felt, was but a stream
That flow'd into a kindred stream . . .

(Prel. VI, 672-74, p. 216)*

His former impressions were flowing in a certain direction which the new ones did not disturb at all. On the contrary, they mutually strengthened one another.

The choice of a more humble subject-matter therefore was a free choice made in order to take a new start in poetry. When Wordsworth rejected "poetic" diction, he rejected his unsuccessful attempt at expressing his love of nature in conventional signs. A spirit of competition thus appears in the field of diction (as the

*The later version is even more explicit; it goes on: "a gale / Confederate with the current of the soul" (ll. 744-45, p. 217).

Preface makes clear), but it does not with regard to the specific question of the Alps and the English mountains.

V

When Wordsworth renounced the sublime and wrote the Lyrical Ballads, he paradoxically found "a sense sublime." The Simplon episode expresses a similar experience (Prel. VI, 494-572, pp. 206-10).

The true sublime does not rest in striking objects nor even in emotions alone, but in a revelation of the essential meaning underlying all these exterior factors. It is an intuition which resembles a "philosophical faith," as Herbert Read puts it. In the Lyrical Ballads, only "Tintern Abbey" expresses such a faith clearly; the other poems still rely on emotions--of the characters, the reader and above all the poet. Later, in The Prelude, the heart of the matter is finally exposed. In the Simplon passage, the contrasts which already struck the poet in 1793 find their significance. Coleridge says that, to "an immense heap of little things," he prefers something "one & indivisible." He is longing for it "and it is only in the faith of this that rocks and waterfalls, mountains or caverns give [him] the sense of sublimity or majesty."⁸

Book VI of The Prelude concerns Cambridge and the Alps. It relates the same journey as Descriptive Sketches, but makes a strict selection in the data stored up in 1790 and accumulated in 1793. The arrangement of images in a succession of sketches is self-destroying, for each scene loses its impact when reduced to a mere

sample among many others. What Coleridge dislikes in a landscape offering a multiplicity of details also applies to a multiplicity of scenes. In both cases a "heap of little things" replaces the work of art. One emblematic scene must stand for the others and integrates images of various origins into a structured whole.

The Prelude attempts a centripetal movement. Just as the Lyrical Ballads reevaluate language by their economical use of poetic terms, The Prelude sets off "spots of time." The many places Wordsworth visits on his walking tour are grouped under five implicit headlines: France; the Chartreuse (not developed in the 1805 version, however); the Simplon; Como; and the night at Gravedona. The disappointment felt at crossing the Alps unaware is charged in the poetical rendering with other disillusionments which are not dwelt upon, experienced at Mont Blanc, at the Falls of the Rhine, or probably at other places which are not mentioned. Similarly the elated feeling provoked by the memories attached to the Simplon also originates in the impression left by Trient and Chamonix.

At the time of his journey, Wordsworth often goes back to some places to make sure that they are recorded in his memory. Only when writing The Prelude does he fully realize that his overall response matters more than exact details.

. . . the soul,
Remembering how she felt, but what she felt
Remembering not, retains an obscure sense
Of possible sublimity.

(Prel. II, 334-37, p. 60)

This sense that he tries to pinpoint in Descriptive Sketches escapes him until he arrives at it from another point of view in "Tintern

Abbey." In 1799 already he writes the section of the Simplon episode juxtaposing contrasts like those of the early poems:

. . . The immeasurable height
Of woods decaying, never to be decay'd,
The stationary blasts of Water-falls.
(Prel. VI, 556-58, p. 210)

Such is the beginning of a sixteen-and-a-half-line sentence which groups a series of paradoxes--stillness in motion, life in decay, peace in tumult, light in darkness--and leads up to similes expressing unity:

Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree.

Shaftesbury, and before him Dennis, have similar phrases: "the unusual height . . . the impending Rock . . . the Torrent . . . craggy Cliffs . . . Clouds . . . craggy Rocks . . . black Clouds . . . the noise of the Cascades, or the down fall of Waters . . . Ruins upon Ruins in monstrous Heaps . . . the frightful view of the Precipices and the foaming Waters that threw themselves headlong with them . . ."⁹ Even in this new account of his tour, Wordsworth relies on a tradition, but neither of his predecessors reaches Wordsworth's unifying conclusion. His contrasting elements are parts of a whole, not debris of a chaos. This whole is the work of art produced by the poet's imagination, the picture of his mind. The contrasts resolving in unity symbolize the ambiguity of the sources of inspiration: aesthetically, even horrible facts arouse pleasure, as Keats says of King Lear. What the Simplon passage eventually calls "the workings of one mind" exists in the poet's own mind and these lines testify to the "dramatic imagination," that is, the imagination dealing with

a poetic vision. Reality, on the other hand, is made up of bits and pieces: "the clear blue sky" and "black drizzling crags," "the raving stream" and "the unfetter'd clouds."

Art imposes order upon life, as the creative activity does upon chaos. Yet this conception of unity does not seem to be satisfactory in the case of Wordsworth. The harmony he perceives in nature and expresses in "Tintern Abbey" is based on life itself, not art only. In that light, the "blossoms upon one tree" imply a common organic life underlying all reality. The poet's intuition resembles a mystic experience. This interpretation is supported by the other similes:

Characters of the great Apocalypse,
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first and last, and midst, and without end.

There is revelation. The context does not point to a Christian experience of God, but the same difficulty of expressing the ineffable impels Wordsworth to borrow phrases from the mystics. The "meditative imagination" perceives an invisible wholeness and calls upon two means to reproduce it: a juxtaposition of opposites and a conclusive series of overt similes, where "as if" "guarantees that nature remains nature while bearing this significance."*

*John McCarthy, "The Wordsworthian Imagination in Poetry: The Simpton Pass and the 1815 Preface," Discourse, XII (Autumn 1969), 505. McCarthy points at the Christian allusions, but focuses on the workings of the imagination. He demonstrates the two levels of unity implied in this passage. Raymond Dexter Havens (The Mind of a Poet. Vol. II: "The Prelude," a Commentary, pp. 427-28) describes this intuition as "akin to the mystic experience" but not concerning a personal God. In Vol. I: A Study of Wordsworth's Thought, pp. 155ff., he brings together several passages of Wordsworth's poetry which present characteristics of mystic experiences.

Wordsworth had this intuition when he thought again of his journey, in the light of the experience acquired through the Lyrical Ballads. In 1804, he expanded his reference to the unifying power of the imagination by writing the apostrophe to Imagination which now precedes the earlier passage. Both sections refer to the same moment of revelation which in fact occurred when the poet was re-enacting in his mind the crossing of the Alps, including the three unforgettable hours mentioned in the letter to Dorothy. The eagerness with which the travellers climb is suddenly replaced by a "dull and heavy slackening" when they understand "that henceforward all [their] course [is] downwards." The physical fact of climbing down a pass after hoping to reach a top--if not the clouds--represents very well the phases of inspiration, manic and depressive. But the paradox lies in the fact that it is precisely when inspiration seems to be completely lacking and the creative will is "slackening" that the poet receives one of those "visitings of awful promise." Only when he has given up expecting a sublime revelation is he granted it. The permanent quest of Descriptive Sketches is finally completed, but after the renunciation implied by the Lyrical Ballads.

VI

The "sense sublime," however, comes in flashes and is not acquired once and for all. Wordsworth places another of these "spots of time" on Mount Snowdon. Here again the description relies on a fragment from Descriptive Sketches as well as on

Coleridge's comparison between the power of imagination and "the sudden charm, which accidents of light and shade, which moon-light or sun-set diffused over a known and familiar landscape."¹⁰ The Excursion also makes of the light of the moon the emblem of imagination. Here the accent is put on the content of the revelation because it must serve as a conclusion to The Prelude. In fact the "meditation" does not spring naturally from the physical scene as it does in the Simplon episode. Wordsworth seems to have developed his conception of artistic creativity along philosophical lines and he turns the moonlight scene on Mount Snowdon into a parable. The important element in the description is the "blue chasm," for it conceals the "innumerable" forces which are at work in creativity whereas the moon stands for the conscious role of the mind in art. Wordsworth here combines two symbolic representations of poetical genius: one is the Arethusa motif, which he transforms into the abyss of "mountain gloom," and the other is the mythical motif of the prophet's consecration on a mountain-top. Whether the philosophical development starting from the scenery is based on Jakob Boehme or not,¹¹ the description as it stands closely reproduces the mountain myth described by Mircea Eliade. The chosen man is purified by a long ascent; when he stands on the point which is highest and

*In Descriptive Sketches, the scene is placed in the Alps at dawn (ll. 495-511, p. 72). The description recalls that by James Beattie in "The Minstrel;" see Poetical Works, I, 328.

nearest the Gods, he is almost lifted above human condition--"the mist touching his very feet." The descent into the abyss is also part of the myth. But the emphasis put on the chasm here cannot be explained by the mythical motif, for it does not appear as a test, a descent into hell, but as a positive "reservoir of divine power," as it does in Boehme, and therefore exemplifies the Romantic preference for the "down" and the "inside." There seems to be a hesitation in Wordsworth's mind as to where to place imagination: down in the breach or up in "the starry heavens." A later version cancels the 1805 explicit lines:

. . . in that breach
Through which the homeless voice of waters rose,
That dark deep thoroughfare had Nature lodg'd
The Soul, the Imagination of the whole.

Geoffrey Hartman says that both moments are implied in the vision.¹²

The role of consciousness and that of mysterious powers explain this duality in the description, but there is still a conflict between the conventional upward symbolism associated with mountains and the Romantic centripetal imagery.

The Mount Snowdon episode concerns the sublime, like "Tintern Abbey" and the Simplon passage, but with a difference. The description of the moonlight landscape conveys an intuition which is reserved to the poet: he perceives the immanence of imagination. The force that impels the poet to create is the same force that was present at the creation of the world and is still at work in life, since imagination is equated with the soul of "the universal spectacle." The sublime that Wordsworth senses this time is the identity between artistic and divine creation. It confirms his personal vocation as

poet and can be shared only by the few chosen ones endowed with the same creative power. The sublime of "Tintern Abbey" and the Simplon is not so esoteric: there Wordsworth announces the good news of a sharing of life to every living creature. To Wordsworth, mountains are a source of sublimity, but not simply in the traditional sense. When the poet expects a sublime effect from a striking landscape or description, he misses it, for he relies on the experience handed down to him and it does not exactly reproduce his own. Wordsworth had to retrace the first steps of life in contact with nature and to feel the basic emotions of his characters in order to acquire a realistic standpoint from which he could discern the essence of his sublime intuition. In his early poems he already sensed it but could not define it yet because he was blinded by conventions. The Lyrical Ballads provided a way out of conventions, while in The Prelude he looked back on a previous experience to clarify it and even, in the case of the Snowdon ascent, to endow it with a significance it could not originally have.

CHAPTER V

MOUNTAINS IN LAMARTINE'S
MEDITATIONS POETIQUES (1820)

AND

JOCELYN (1836):
FROM THE SPIRITUAL TO THE MATERIAL

Wordsworth's poetry reveals a development in the use of mountain landscape, from what were by that time already conventional descriptions of An Evening Walk and Descriptive Sketches, to the personal symbolism of The Prelude. Lamartine also shows an evolution in his attitude towards mountains. There is a parallel movement in the two poets: they attribute a more important role to the mountain image in their later epic works than they do in their collections of poems, the Lyrical Ballads and the Méditations poétiques respectively. With the exception of Wordsworth's first experiment with conventional description, the stages in Lamartine's poetry resemble the successive steps taken by him: a relative silence about mountains in the Méditations poétiques is followed by an emphasis on an alpine setting in Jocelyn.

However, the comparison of affinities must stop here, because Lamartine did not change his attitude for the same reasons as Wordsworth. Whereas the English tradition of the sublime guided Wordsworth in his mountain descriptions, the French background that influenced Lamartine was more religious than aesthetical. As we saw in Chapter

II, picturesque painting, landscape gardening, gothicism and theories of the sublime also existed in France--and contributed to spread the taste for mountains--but Lamartine himself associated sublimity with God and not with natural grandeur.* Because of his religious outlook, he endeavoured to express spiritual realities in his poetry. The Méditations show his attempt at writing in the sublime language of the soul that he describes in "Dieu" (p. 75). Jocelyn on the contrary relies on mountain landscape to convey the material aspect of language and life.

In my study of Lamartine's use of the mountain, I shall first look at the tradition which accounts for some of his characteristics. Then I shall examine the imagery of the Méditations to see what role the mountain plays and why it is secondary. Finally I shall point to a change in Lamartine's view of poetry and analyze the imagery of Jocelyn.

I

The Méditations poétiques have a religious dimension which already appears in the title itself. All the poems in the first volume deal with spiritual values, while two of them directly imitate

*Witness for instance the "sublime essence" of God ("L'Immortalité," p. 19), the "regard sublime" of the poet ("L'Enthousiasme," p. 37), the "sublime symbole" of faith ("La Foi," p. 54) and the "sublimes esprits" who try to explain the mystery of the soul ("La Foi," p. 53), in Méditations poétiques, éd. par Jean des Cognets.

the Old Testament translated by Lamartine's friend, Genoude: "Chants lyriques de Saül" (a part of a tragedy) and "La Poésie sacrée." Titles of Lamartine's later poetical works also indicate a religious trend: Harmonies poétiques et religieuses, Recueils poétiques, Jocelyn. Episode. Journal trouvé chez un curé de village, and La Chute d'un ange (the last two being fragments of an epic to be called Les Visions.)¹ Individual poems also obviously develop Christian subject-matters: "La Providence à l'homme," "La Semaine sainte à la Roche Guyon," "Le Chrétien mourant," for instance.

This feature of Lamartine's poetry corresponds to the two characteristics of romantic literature propounded by Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël: Christian spirituality and enthusiasm. Fénelon already praised the sublimity of the Scriptures, but he added: and of the Ancients.² On the contrary, the two preromantic writers oppose the inspiring beauties of Christianity to dead classical mythology. Le Génie du christianisme, De la littérature and De l'Allemagne all favour Christianity and link it with the new romantic literature.

Moreover, Madame de Staël deals with the notion of enthusiasm in De l'Allemagne.³ The "God in us" concept not only carries a religious connotation but also involves feeling. The intuition of the infinite supersedes cold reasoning and inspires sublime sacrifices.

Lamartine uses the term "enthusiasm" as a synonym of "genius," as the classical tradition did, but at the same time enthusiasm in Lamartine denotes an unrestricted involvement, either in poetry or in faith. "Je me débats sous ta puissance," says the poet to the eagle that represents enthusiasm, but eventually he yields:

Je l'irrite en le combattant,
 Et la lave de mon génie
 Déborde en torrents d'harmonie
 Et me consume en s'échappant.
 ("L'Enthousiasme," pp. 36-37)

No calculation can control this inner force. The definition itself of the Méditations given by Genoude, the first editor, suggests a surrender to an intuition. Lamartine's Méditations are "les épanchements tendres et mélancoliques des sentiments et des pensées d'une âme qui s'abandonne à ses vagues inspirations."⁴

The Méditations are therefore rooted in the French background of preromanticism. A third characteristic of Lamartine's poems also originates in Chateaubriand: the mal du siècle. Genoude's description ("les épanchements . . . mélancoliques,") hints precisely at this ennui. The literary fashion started by Chateaubriand corresponds to a real climate of disillusionment in the first decades of the nineteenth century. René's ennui also affected the idle young man who was composing poetry at Milly. Ailing, bored, disappointed by the army career to which he had been destined, and thus left with no openings, Lamartine led the purposeless life of post-Napoleonic days. The vagueness and melancholy of the Méditations are thus typical of early French romanticism.

*With regard to religion, enthusiasm in Lamartine explains the kind of impulsive leap into faith expressed in "Le Désespoir" and "La Foi."

II

The religious inspiration of the Méditations influences their use of scenery. If a Méditation is, as Letessier describes it, a poem of medium length in three parts: first the description of an inner landscape, then a series of philosophical thoughts and finally a mystical conclusion, the scenery is conditioned by the rest of the poem.⁵ It is not described with precision and the poet's feelings are so tightly interwoven with the description that it is impossible to locate the setting of the Méditations. Lamartine envisions an inner landscape, for, in Ernest Zyromski's words, "le génie de l'artiste déforme les spectacles de la réalité et en accommode les différents plans à une vision intérieure."⁶ He thus differs from his immediate predecessors or even contemporaries, who set up a decor for their feelings. Even Léonard, who resembles the poet of "Le Lac de B . . . " when he evokes the setting of past happiness, uses landscape as a prop whereas, as Yvonne Boeniger says, "les états d'âme de Lamartine . . . sont inséparables de l'ébauche descriptive."⁷

In a manner similar to that of Wordsworth in "Tintern Abbey," Lamartine starts with a description and then "meditates" on some abstract topic, but in Lamartine, the third part is usually a prayer whereas in Wordsworth it is a return to landscape. However, not all the Méditations fit into this scheme: "Le Vallon" sets the pattern, which "L'Isolement," "Le Soir" and "La Prière" reproduce in the main lines. Other poems like "Le Golfe de Baia," "Le Temple" and "Hymne au soleil" can still be categorized as variations on the same structure, but the collection also includes philosophical poems which do

not include any particular scenery: only their similes are drawn from nature. Such are for instance "L'Homme. A Lord Byron," "Le Désespoir" and "La Foi."

The Méditations therefore do not focus on landscape as much as a reader of "Le Lac de B . . ." would expect. A study of their imagery reveals Lamartine's preoccupation with spiritual values. Nature itself is involved in a process of spiritualization. What role does the mountain image play in a poetry of the soul? To answer this question, I must now examine the poems.

With regard to mountains, one can divide the relevant passages into two categories: description of actual details and symbolism of heights or rocks.

A phenomenon that happens at sunrise in mountains seems to have struck Lamartine because he mentions it twice, in the same terms:

Je veux voir le soleil s'élever lentement,
Précipiter son char du haut de nos montagnes.
("Hymne au soleil," p. 65)

In "Adieu," he repeats the image "précipiter son char" (p. 67). There seems to be a contradiction between "s'élever" and "précipiter": the "char" usually represents the sun itself, which does not rush down the mountain.* On the contrary, it rises and then travels above it. But Lamartine is probably thinking of the sunbeams, which, as soon as they touch the summit, flow down at high speed. The poet has thus observed the exact detail of a sunrise, but he is betrayed by the me-

*Letessier notes that "l'image mythologique du char revient fréquemment sous la plume de Lamartine" (Méditations, p. 466). It is applied to the sun in "La Prière," p. 45.

taphorical word "char."

Lamartine is equally sensitive to sunset, or rather to the last touches of twilight on higher zones:

Au sommets de ces monts couronnés de bois sombres,
Le crépuscule encore jette un dernier rayon.
("L'Isolement," p. 3)

But he focuses on the play of light and darkness, not on the mountain. In fact, to his meditative mood, the symbolism of heights or rocks matters more than descriptive precision. From the point of view of symbolism, the mountain in the Méditations stands for poetry, pride or permanence.

In classical tradition, the dwelling-place of the muses and Apollo is a mountain: Parnassus, Pindus or Helicon. In "L'Enthousiasme" Lamartine implies erroneously that it is Eryx (p. 38), but the fact is that he associates poetry with heights in the conventional manner.* His knowledge of the Ancients colours even his view of nature, as he expressly states in Les Confidences:

Les montagnes, les torrents, les cascades, les ruines sous
les rochers, les chalets sous les sapins et sous les hêtres
de ce pays tout alpestre, nous arrachaient nos premiers
cris d'admiration pour la nature. C'étaient nos vers grecs
et latins traduits par Dieu lui-même en images grandioses
et vivantes, une promenade à travers la poésie de sa création.

(p. 113)

The classical allusions of "L'Enthousiasme" are thus not surprising; they support his theme, which comes from the same source: Virgil and Horace among others also place the poet-prophet above the "profanum vulgus" and his elevated words above minor genres. The

*Like Keats. See above, Chapter III, Section II.

absolute domination of the poet by his genius actually exists in the Bible and in Greek mythology.⁸ The only romantic touch lies in the origin of this overwhelming inspiration: feeling. But this new element is hardly noticeable in the context of this poem which has been called "an academic exercise."⁹ It is expressed in the line: "Pour tout peindre, il faut tout sentir" (p. 37), which occurs among classical images: Jupiter sends his lightning and the eagle carries off Ganymede from Mount Ida.

To sublime transports, the poet eventually prefers peaceful verse, for the vates is dangerously linked with hell, paradoxical as it sounds. The second Méditation, "L'Homme. A Lord Byron," dwells on the satanic pride of the poet. Byron is compared to an eagle who haunts "des rocs escarpés" (p. 5), but at the same time his soul lies in the abyss of hell. The spatial imagery is even more confusing when the poet adds: "Descends du rang des dieux" (p. 6). Both extremes (of pride and of evil) are eventually condemned in the name of a mediocritas aurea: "Ni si haut, ni si bas!" (p. 10). Humility is preferable; Lamartine justifies it by the mystery of human destiny.

"La Gloire" does not throw any more light on the theme of aloofness, except that it omits the mountain imagery to retain only the eagle, thus proving that Lamartine does not attribute much meaning to the mountain itself.*

In fact, upward and downward movements play a far more

*An earlier version of "La Gloire" has "Mais le Pinde est à nous" for "Mais la lyre est à nous;" see Letessier, éd., Méditations, p. 401. Both mountain and musical instrument are clichés.

essential role in the Méditations than does the concrete mass of the mountain. The soaring or plunging eagle is only one example of flight imagery. Incense, vapour, scent, smoke, breath and even music rise to heaven. "Le char de l'Aurore" itself carries the poet up like the "orageux aquilons" ("L'Isolement," p. 4).

Lamartine adheres to the Christian spatial representation of reality: God lives in the upper regions while the tomb is an abyss. In "L'Immortalité," the fragility of human life frightens the ordinary man, who "recule en tremblant des bords du précipice" (p. 16), but the poet prefers to invoke death:

Viens, ouvre ma prison; viens, prête-moi tes ailes!
Que tardes-tu? Parais; que je m'élance enfin
Vers cet être inconnu, mon principe et ma fin!
(p. 17)

The space imagery of the Méditations has not undergone the romantic revolution which Northrop Frye defines in "The Drunken Boat," in spite of the ambiguity of "L'Homme," which can be explained by a contamination of two traditions.¹⁰

Light imagery also follows the traditional pattern. The sun, star, lamp and fire stand for positive life and are opposed to the darkness of death:

J'attends le jour sans fin de l'immortalité.
La mort m'entoure en vain de ses ombres funèbres.
("La Prière," p. 47)

However the Méditations show a marked preference for light which is about to die out: twilight (as we saw earlier), the "soleil pâlisant" ("L'Automne," p. 80), the evening ("Adieu," "Le Temple") and moonlight ("Le Golfe de Baia"): this confirms a tendency that is also apparent in the choice of water and music imagery and explains the

very minor role given to mountains. Lamartine in the Méditations wishes to express his fundamental longing: a longing for the spiritual. He attempts in poetry what the mystics experience in life: an escape from material bonds. His images have to serve this purpose.

The mountain image must therefore be examined from the point of view of this effort at spiritualization. We saw that it occurs in a few descriptive passages and as a symbol of elevated poetry and pride. It also represents the very object that impedes the spiritualizing process: rock, the physical mass of rock which is an emblem of solidity. In "L'Isolement," as well as in "Le Soir," "Le Lac de B . . . " and "Adieu," the observer of nature is sitting on a mountain or a rock. While the objects in sight are dimmed in the diminishing light, blurred by clouds or shapeless like water, the spectator is safely anchored on a firm and lasting element. Jean-Pierre Richard calls it a "lieu-refuge" and adds: "La sécurité garantie de son site d'observation écarte . . . tout risque d'éparpillement. C'est l'une des situations lamartiniennes favorites . . . Le moi peut se permettre alors le luxe d'un laisser-aller."¹¹ The observer deplores the flight of time and the vanity of human endeavours. He values such qualities of the soul as memories and ideals, and he evokes the shadows of the dead, but he still belongs to the world of physical reality.

In spite of the presence of rocks and mountains, the overall movement of the Méditations is one of dematerialization. In an article on "Lamartine et le sentiment de l'espace," Georges Poulet speaks of "ennuagement," "volatilisation," "assourdissement," "pâ-

lissement" and says that this "phénomène de vaporisation . . . a pour fin expresse de spiritualiser le monde ambiant."¹² Although my study concerns mountains, I must dwell somewhat on Lamartine's means of translating the non-material into words in order to contrast the Méditations with Jocelyn.

The flight imagery which I pointed out earlier is now explained: how much more satisfying is a flight to heaven than an arduous mountain climb. Lamartine's repeated references to flights, wings and chariots, although perhaps ridiculous when one tries to visualize them, are meant to convey a general disembodiment. They do so in conjunction with two central images: music and water.

Criticism has often stressed the musicality of Lamartine's poetry.¹³ It does not resemble painting (much less sculpture as the Parnasse does), but music, which is a less substantial art since it cannot be seen or touched. Beside the conventional lyre, lute and golden harp, poetry is compared to an hymn ("L'Homme," pp. 12-13). But these images are still too concrete for the Méditations: the ineffable is eventually expressed by less than music; that is, by a single sound:

Moi, je meurs; et mon âme, au moment qu'elle expire,
S'exhale comme un son triste et mélodieux.
("L'Automne," p. 81)

Sounds even undergo a further disintegration:

Mon reste d'âme s'évapore
En accents perdus dans les airs!
("L'Enthousiasme," p. 38)

At the extreme point of dematerialization, music becomes breath; in other words, poetry must become as impalpable as air, which is an

ever-escaping goal. Georges Poulet notes: "Ce qui est flou à présent, ce n'est plus simplement l'univers imaginé par Lamartine, c'est l'univers de la parole de Lamartine."¹⁴

Water imagery also contributes to the same impression of insubstantiality. Like music to sculpture, water is opposed to rock. It takes any shape and any colour; in addition, it is not bound to any place. Lamartine's predilection for verbs such as "nager," "flotter" and "engloutir," and for terms connected with water has also been noted. "Le Lac de B . . . " is only one of the many lakes and oceans of Lamartine's poetry. Paul Viallaneix, in his study of "Les Eaux lamartiniennes," finds numerous proofs that Sainte-Beuve's, Hugo's and Vinet's descriptions of Lamartine as a "fleuve" is justified.¹⁵ "Le Lac de B . . . " is echoed "à travers toute l'oeuvre de Lamartine: c'est toujours la même eau, tantôt rendue visible, tantôt tenue cachée, qui bat imperturbablement la mesure."

The voyage of life is evoked in "Le Lac de B . . . ":

L'homme n'a point de port, le temps n'a point de rive:
Il coule, et nous passons!
(p. 40)

It recurs in "Adieu":

Déjà ma barque fugitive,
Au souffle des zéphyrs trompeurs,
S'éloigne à regret de la rive.
(p. 68)

Not only does he watch the passing of time, as when he is seated on a rock: now he is floating with the current. The boat is ambivalent: it is safe ground in the middle of a fluid element, but, on the other

hand, it is identified with this element.*

Water imagery makes the landscape more blurred and intangible. When the process of liquefaction is carried on, water becomes vapour or clouds, that is, akin to air; inversely, the expanse of sky becomes an ocean in which stars are floating. The boundaries of both oceans are out of sight, leaving only the feeling of space.

Space and time in the Méditations are sometimes concretized by specific spots, like one particular evening ("Un soir, t'en souvient-il? nous voguions en silence" ["Le Lac de B," p. 39]) or one particular path ("Voici l'étroit sentier de l'obscur vallée" ["Le Vallon," p. 21]). But more often they are left open and all the objects dissolve progressively. "L'Immortalité" for instance shows historical and spatial facts:

Dans ces prés jaunissants tu vois la fleur languir,

 Le soleil, comme nous, marche à sa décadence.
 (p. 18)

Then memories include moments spent

Tantôt sur les sommets de ces rochers antiques,
 Tantôt aux bords déserts des lacs mélancoliques,
 (p. 19)

but they close on the thought of the infinite and the final wish in the poem is to transcend concrete manifestations of space and time:

*Man is carried by the flow of passing time and cannot steer his boat, still less hold to a fixed point. This representation of life in "L'Adieu" coincides with Clemens Brentano's views in his poems: "Auf dem Rhein," "Der Schiffer im Kahne" and "Der Schiffer und die Sirene." Emil Staiger analyzes "[das Bild] des Schiffers, der im Kahn den eilenden Strom hinuntertreibt, den Rhein hinunter--denn der Rhein ist für Brentano recht eigentlich zum Strom des Lebens selbst geworden." (Die Zeit als Einbildungskraft des Dichters. Untersuchungen zu Gedichten von Brentano, Goethe und Keller, p. 53).

Nos âmes, d'un seul bond remontant vers leur source,
Ensemble auraient franchi les mondes dans leur course.
(p. 20)

The same longing is more explicit in "Dieu": "Nous échappons au temps, nous franchissons l'espace" (p. 75). In both poems, the absorption into space is given a more orthodox formulation by reference to God, but whether it is into space, the bosom of God or the bosom of nature ("Le Vallon"), the spirit expands and transcends bodily limitations. Space is eventually barren of obstacles: it is then comparable to a desert or to a plain.

Mountains therefore must be absent because they would only be an impediment. The highest degree of spiritualization is the blurring of mountains, by means of the veil of night: "Et le voile des nuits sur les monts se déplie" ("La Prière," p. 45). Although "le voile" as a metaphor refers to a fabric, its tactile quality has worn out through its use as a cliché and Lamartine certainly likes it because a veil has no shape and softens the shape of other objects.

Distance, even better than fading light, blurs contours and creates an impression of infinite space by the very succession of hills--which, it must be noted, lend themselves to a spiritualizing process more readily than sharper mountains:

De colline en colline en vain portant ma vue,
Du sud à l'aquilon, de l'aurore au couchant,
Je parcours tous les points de l'immense étendue.
("L'Isolement," pp. 3-4)

III

It would be very strange if Lamartine did not introduce more mountains into his poetry, when his autobiographical works--so numerous because they were meant to help him out of his money problems--describe his days in the hills of his native Mâconnais, at Belley in Dauphiné, at Aix-les-Bains and at Bissy in Savoy, in Switzerland and in the Apennins. Actually, in spite of the relative silence of the 1820 Méditations poétiques, Lamartine deserves to be called "le poète des Alpes" because of Jocelyn.¹⁶ Jocelyn is set in the Alps, in the neighbourhood of Grenoble. Why does Lamartine choose a mountainous scenery, when the Méditations prove that he is trying to dematerialize persons, objects and words? The mountain, with its mass, its resistance and its weight, gathers up the most corporeal qualities.

The physical presence of the mountain is precisely what Lamartine discovers. In the Méditations he discards it without fully realizing that it can become the emblem of the material. Only during his journey to the Orient did he perceive the poetical resources of the mountain. Anti-Lebanon struck him as the Alps had never done before:

Le Liban a un caractère que je n'ai vu ni aux Alpes ni au Taurus: c'est le mélange de la sublimité imposante des lignes et des cimes avec la grâce des détails et la variété des couleurs.¹⁷

His description insists on shape and mass, which are more noticeable under the Asian sky:

A droite et à gauche s'élevaient, comme deux remparts perpendiculaires hauts de trois à quatre cents pieds, deux chaînes

de montagnes qui semblaient avoir été séparées récemment. l'une de l'autre par un coup de marteau du fabricant des mondes . . . quelques-unes de ces pierres étaient des masses plus élevées et plus longues que de hautes maisons. Les unes étaient posées d'aplomb comme des cubes solides et éternels . . . ;--rochers de couleur funèbre, gris, noirs, marbrés de feu et de blanc, opaques; vagues pétrifiées d'un fleuve de granit.

(p. 240)

Leurs flancs . . . sont creusés . . . de profondes et larges ravines, comme si les montagnes avaient éclaté sous leur propre poids.

(p. 335)

All these passages testify that Lamartine sees the rocks in the mountain. Henri Guillemin, in his study of Jocelyn, underlines the impact of the Voyage en Orient upon the alpine epic (p. 314). He emphasizes the biographical experience: in Syria, Lamartine encounters the dangers of mountains, and the deeper knowledge that he acquires accounts for the sincerity and originality of mountain descriptions in Jocelyn. Guillemin however does not point out the link between this knowledge and Lamartine's change of attitude toward his vocation as a poet. Herein lies the secret of Jocelyn.

As a matter of fact, Lamartine started writing Jocelyn before his journey. The choice of the setting was therefore decided before he saw the Lebanese mountains and was caused by a new conviction of Lamartine's that was definitely confirmed during his journey.

The poet who had expressed "les épanchements . . . des sentiments et des pensées d'une âme" became more involved in politics. After the July Revolution, he started the political career which was to lead him to the foreground of the revolutionary scene in 1848. This commitment coincided with a turn in his literary ambitions. His Recueils poétiques (1839) is a work of littérature engagée and

in fact even before 1839 he wished to be useful to his fellowmen through his poetry. The judgment of "A. M. Félix Guillemandet" applies already to Jocelyn as opposed to the Méditations:

Mais mon coeur, moins sensible à ses propres misères,
S'est élargi plus tard aux douleurs de mes frères;
.....
Alors j'ai bien compris par quel divin mystère
Un seul coeur incarnait tous les maux de la terre.¹⁸

As his article, "Destinées de la poésie," states, his poetry was going to interpret human nature for the people.¹⁹ It was going to break the isolation of the poet and unite "la pensée et l'action":

Qu'est-ce qu'un homme qui, à la fin de sa vie, n'aurait fait que cadencer ses rêves poétiques, pendant que ses contemporains combattaient avec toutes les armes le grand combat de la patrie ou de la civilisation?²⁰

Social concern dictates new criteria for poetry: in particular, it must be more down-to-earth. Even if it teaches spiritual values, they must be presented as flourishing on solid ground. Landscape has its part to play in creating a realistic atmosphere. Whereas in the Méditations the scenery depends on the poet's mood, because the feelings of the soul come first and impose their mould on the scene, Jocelyn emphasizes strong exterior reality. Thence the choice of mountain setting. The decision was made before the journey to the Orient, but to Lamartine the sight of rocky summits revealed gold-mines of symbolism.

That Jocelyn must be more realistic than early poetry is further proved by its character of "épopée intime."²¹ Like Wordsworth in the Lyrical Ballads, Lamartine deals with the simple life of men in contact with nature. A passage of Les Confidences actually echoes Wordsworth's own development:

Les premiers paysages que mes yeux contemplèrent n'étaient pas de nature à agrandir ni à colorer beaucoup les ailes de ma jeune imagination. Ce n'est que plus tard et peu à peu que les magnifiques scènes de la création, la mer, les sublimes montagnes, les lacs resplendissants des Alpes, et les monuments humains dans les grandes villes, frappèrent mes yeux . . . Peut-être est-ce la meilleure condition pour bien jouir de la nature et des ouvrages des hommes, que de commencer par ce qu'il y a de plus modeste et de plus vulgaire, et de s'initier, pour ainsi dire, lentement et à mesure que l'âme se développe, aux spectacles de ce monde.

(p. 63)

Two features are set off in this text: respect for low life, as in the Lyrical Ballads, and praise of sublime scenery, as in the Simplon and Snowdon passages of The Prelude. But whereas Wordsworth experiments successively with humble life and natural grandeur, Lamartine combines them in Jocelyn. He tells the story of a village priest and devotes a long section to the peasants' activities in a poor alpine hamlet. At the same time, he evokes a grandiose landscape: the Alps. He chose this scenery (even before his journey to the Orient) because he wished to write an epic portraying human destiny.*²² The Alps provided the noble setting which was required for an epic episode. As we surveyed the French background of Lamartine's poetry, however, we saw that the form of sublime which influenced Lamartine was religious. Height is associated with God and goodness. The Alps therefore represent an escape from the evils existing in lower

*Several other romantics made similar attempts at epic poetry, for instance Vigny (Les Destinées), Hugo (La Légende des siècles) (see Gaëtan Picon, "La Poésie au XIXe siècle," in Histoire des littératures, éd. par Raymond Queneau, III, 905 and 925) and Keats (Hyperion) (see Ian Jack, English Literature, 1815-1832, Vol. X of The Oxford History of English Literature, ed. by F. P. Wilson and Bonamy Dobrée, pp. 124-26).

regions.

Realism and escapism: such are the two aspects of Jocelyn to be examined. By realism, I mean an attempt at conveying the concrete reality of objects and bodies in contrast to the spiritual quality of the Méditations. It is actually a matter of proportion and not of alternative, for we saw that there are a few examples of tangible mountains or rocks in the Méditations, and inversely water imagery is still plentiful in Jocelyn. Moreover, escapism undercuts the emphasis on the material. Only a close study of the imagery shows that Jocelyn differs significantly from the Méditations.

IV

The story of Jocelyn itself strikes the reader by its escapism. It is "romantic," if we take the term in its popular meaning of "unlike real life."

To allow his sister to have a dowry, Jocelyn enters a seminary. The French Revolution forces him to take refuge in an almost inaccessible cave in the Alps, the Grotte des Aigles. One day he rescues a young proscrip, Laurence, whom he discovers later to be a girl. Their innocent friendship becomes a virtuous love. Called to the prison where his bishop is awaiting execution, Jocelyn consents to be ordained a priest in order to give his bishop the last sacraments. Laurence is revolted and leads a dissolute life in Paris while Jocelyn becomes the parish priest of Valneige, an alpine village. He eventually assists Laurence when she dies and buries her at

the Grotte des Aigles. He himself dies in a plague outburst while tending the sick.

The whole story is Jocelyn's diary in nine "époques," framed by a Prologue and an Epilogue. Since the story is so idyllic, the question is open whether it can indeed impart the concrete aspect of life on earth. It would appear that it does, because there is a collusion of images of architecture, of weight and mass, as well as textile imagery and other metaphors.

The first significant category of images concerns architecture. The Méditations admit a few palaces and sanctuaries:

L'univers est le temple et la terre est l'autel;
Les cieux en sont le dôme . . .
("La Prière," p. 45)

But this overt and prolonged comparison does not vie with Jocelyn's first impression of the Alps:

Je commence à gravir ces gradins de collines
Où les Alpes du Nord enfonce leurs racines,
Immense piédestal par sa masse abaissée,
Qui sous le poids des monts semble s'être affaissée,
.
J'avance en frissonnant sous l'arche des cascades;
Les pins m'ouvrent plus loin leurs hautes colonnades.
(II, 423-23, 431-32, pp. 63-64)

A part from the organic metaphor, which is out of tune, the terms chosen to describe the mountain convey the picture of a temple which recalls the church of the seminary where Jocelyn remembers Ossian's nature poetry (II, 87-132, pp. 55-56). The weight is felt by its effect: an "affaissement." In other words, this temple resembles ruins, like the Grotte des Aigles later on. In the Grotte des Aigles, the ruin aspect is even stronger:

La montagne en croulant s'est brisée en morceaux,
 Et, semant ses rochers en confuses ruines,
 A de leurs blocs épais entassé les collines.
 (II, 662-64, p. 69)

The exterior structure suggesting the power of these hanging masses covers a vault of the Gothic style praised by Chateaubriand in Le Génie du christianisme:

Vingt quartiers, suspendus sur leur arête vive,
 En soutiennent le dôme en gigantesque ogive.
 (II, 699-700, p. 70)

"Angles brisés," "lustres" and "bassin de granit" adorn the interior.

Even snow, frozen overnight, becomes a vault and an arch (IV, 622-25, p. 113). In the same passage, the massive avalanche destroys the natural bridge: "L'arc-boutant de granit chancelle sous la masse" (IV, 666, p. 114).

Two more isolated metaphors of weight and architecture echo the previous ones: falling snow "m'enfonçait sous son poids" and packed snow forms "un nouveau piédestal" (IV, 688 and 692, p. 114).

Akin to the concept of mass, we find stones and metals. Valneige is an oasis surrounded and supported by rock and granite (VI, 345ff., p. 159). Its spring flows over "de gros blocs de granit" (IX, 803, p. 213). Those are only two examples of direct references to rock among many other indirect allusions. Even more striking in Lamartine's poetry is the comparison of a sunbeam to a gold lever, of waterdrops to diamonds and of the moon to an icicle (IV, 294-96, 363, 487, pp. 104, 106, 109).

Actually, concrete objects often serve to explain more insubstantial ones. Thus the rainbow becomes a snake with scales; furthermore, its neck is a sword. In the next stanza the snake is meta-

morphosed into an arch or a bridge, and eventually becomes a flight of stairs (IV, 221-53, pp. 102-103).

Stars "aux lueurs argentines" are lit up "comme un feu de berger le soir sur les collines" (IV, 485-86, p. 109). Although fire is not a concrete object, "un feu de berger" throws in an intimate and practical note.

A beam of daylight is like a leaf (III, 771-74, p. 92) and water is like powder: "flots poudreux des torrents" (VI, 159, p. 153). A drop of melted snow is first powder, then becomes a globe and a prism (terms of volume) and then a bee:

Chaque goutte en pleuvant remontait en poussière
Sur l'herbe, et s'y roulait en globes de lumière.
Tous ces prismes, frappés du feu du firmament,
Remplissaient l'oeil d'éclairs et d'éblouissement,
On eût dit mille essaims d'abeilles murmurantes.
(IV, 39-43, p. 98)

Gathered in a rivulet, these drops

. . . gazouillaient en foule en mille voix légères,
Comme des vols d'oiseaux cachés sous les fougères.
(IV, 51-52, p. 98)

Their foam is their down or feathers.

Textile imagery also makes details of the physical world more tangible. The first metaphor of that kind occurs in a passage imitating Ossian:

. . . un brouillard glacé . . .
Comme un fils de Morven me vêtissait d'orages.
(II, 54-55, p. 54)

It expresses a close union with nature, but is more forceful than metaphors concerning scenery alone. The temple image of Jocelyn's first encounter with the Alps is made complete by the meadows, "verts tapis étendus" (II, 434, p. 64). Similarly the cave is furnished with

the elaborate weaving of ivy:

Au-dessus de la grotte un lierre enraciné,
Laisant flotter en bas ses festons et ses nappes,
Etend comme un rideau ses feuilles et ses grappes,
Et, se tressant en grille et croisant ses barreaux,
Sur la fenêtre oblongue épaissit ses rideaux.

(II, 726-30, p. 71)

The curtains turns out to be an even more solid object: iron-bars at the loop-hole of this fortified church. In spring, "les herbes, les fleurs, les lianes des bois" "s'étendaient en tapis," "s'entrelaçaient," "sortaient de terre . . . en dentelles," and "entravaient nos sentiers par des réseaux de fleurs," while sap also forms "des filets de feuillage et des tissus légers" and "tous ces réseaux" are "noués" (IV, 77ff., p. 99). A few lines above, the rivulets made by drops of melted snow "dépliaient leur nappe ou leurs longs rubans blancs" (I, 50). The Platonic veils of the Méditations have no substance in comparison with the textiles of Jocelyn.

In the same description of spring, a related image confirms the tactile effect:

Mais toute la montagne était la même fête;
Les nuages d'été qui passaient sur sa tête
N'étaient qu'un chaud duvet que les rayons brûlants
Enlevaient au glacier, cardaient en flocons blancs.

(IV, 139-42, p. 100)

One can touch the air, warm and heavy: "l'air tiède . . . semblait tomber," "caressait la terre," "étreignait les monts" (IV, 57-58, 65-66, p. 98). Laurence and Jocelyn roll on grass to feel the touch of natural objects more completely, but this is a human intrusion (IV, 128, p. 100). It recurs later when Jocelyn touches branches and kisses the ground (IX, 13-15, p. 193). Such intrusions mark the subtler presence of nature achieved through tactile imagery.

The literal down and feather of the nightingale (IV, 266-67, p. 103), the metaphorical down and velvet of the lawn (VI, 363-64, p. 159), as well as the enfolding shroud of the avalanche (IV, 680, p. 114), collude with the longer similes to convey the tangible. A final point concerns mountains themselves: they touch the valley (IV, 557, p. 111).

Man's intrusion is actually part of a general communion between human, animal, vegetable and mineral worlds. Far from trying to spiritualize things, the poet in Jocelyn aims at grounding his characters on the earth and at integrating them into the physical reality. He succeeds better when he attributes human actions to objects or transposes terms from one world to the other: trees have arms, feet and bosom (IX, 304-13, p. 200), while in another case the mountain is a tree,

Et ses vastes rameaux de granit et de marbre
Craquaient et se tordaient comme les bras d'un arbre.
(IV, 641-42, p. 113)

"Palpiter" is applied to the nightingale, to men, to winds, to God and to mountains as well (II, 553, p. 66; IV, 210, p. 102; IV, 267, p. 103; VI, 164, p. 153). Laurence is described like a chamois, "sur un pic du glacier" (III, 758, p. 91). The Ossianic passage of the second period evokes a human sacrifice by means of expressions such as "les torrents, / Hurlant d'horreur . . . jetaient . . . leurs cris" and "Le soleil . . . me lançait un regard" (II, 49-52, 58, p. 54). The suffering of nature parallels Jocelyn's abnegation. The winter description of the third period (ll. 765-94, p. 92) also joins verbs denoting pain to natural phenomena ("se tord, éclate et

crie" are applied to a branch), but on the whole the passage emphasizes the sounds and movements of a battle, with the shock of solid weapons:

C'est la lutte des vents dans le ciel, c'est le choc
Des nuages jetés contre l'écueil du roc.

(III, 781-82, p. 92)

The avalanche leaps like an animal; so do the torrents, which have as much power as a plough furrowing rock. The sound is made even more palpable by the evocation of bow and string. Nature therefore exists for man as a close and concrete environment made up of interdependent physical factors that also include man's own body.

By means of architecture, weight, mass, textile and tactile metaphors, as well as by concretizing fluid elements, Lamartine creates in Jocelyn a physical reality of which the alpine setting is the basis. In this world, in spite of idealized feeling, bodies do not dissolve. To reach the heights one has to climb, one cannot fly. Space is well defined in the vale, in the cave or in Valneige, by place-names as well as by the walls of mountains which make a prison of Valneige, a fortress of the Grotte des Aigles:

Des monts tout blancs de neige encadrent l'horizon.
(VI, 367, p. 159)

. . . ces pics glacés . . .
L'entourent à demi de leurs neigeux sommets.
(II, 605-606, p. 68)

Time is also trapped, in the pages of the diary; moreover the diary records the temps vécu, since it dwells on certain days more than others and even stretches a single spring day to include time-consuming facts: the snow melts, leaves grow, flowers blossom, sap

drips, birds mate and even summer clouds drift over the glacier (IV, 15ff., pp. 97ff.).

Jocelyn therefore differs from the Méditations by its consistently concrete life. Even the water imagery, still frequent, is modified in comparison with the Méditations. In some cases, the metaphor modulates from liquid to fire. For instance, the sun is a "foyer flottant," its beams "rejaillissent . . . en gerbes d'étincelles" and "font ressembler . . . ce bleu firmament / A la mer." The soul flies like a swan and love is a "trop-plein" as well as a "flamme" (III, 1, 5-9, 31-33, 57-58, pp. 73-74). Since fire is still more elusive than water, the modulation here does not concretize the image. But other water metaphors clearly move towards more tangible elements, like ice or a textile. Although the avalanche provokes a catastrophe comparable to a shipwreck, the cold later solidifies the "sea" and even Jocelyn's heart is petrified (IV, 655ff., pp. 114-15). The whole context of the avalanche episode is negative, but the destructive force is water, either liquid or transformed into snow and ice. The hurricane threatens as much as the ice does later. There is no negative feeling systematically attached to a solid element because of its solidity. If the ice turns the Grotte des Aigles into a dead landscape, the rock a little earlier shelters Jocelyn from the waves of the avalanche.

Transformation of water also includes metaphorical change into textile: we have already met the example of the rivulets that "dépliaient leur nappe ou leurs longs rubans blancs" (IV, 50, p. 98). Juxtaposed with this emphasis on concrete objects, a few passages in

Jocelyn recall the Méditations. Water and wing images convey a longing for the infinite:

. . . l'âme qui s'endort
Nage dans l'infini sans aile, sans effort.
(II, 133-34, p. 56)

But these "épanchements" are rare. On the whole, in Jocelyn man's life is grounded in mountains, whereas in the Méditations it floats on an ethereal ocean.

In my opinion, social concern largely explains the change of imagery: the poet must not only produce music on the strings of his heart, he must also "[achever] la création en la contemplant, en l'animant et en l'exprimant."²³ The earth, material as it is, must be his subject-matter because man lives in this world and has to improve it, as the tiller ploughs his field:

Pour voir la noble créature
Aider Dieu, servir la nature,
.....
Les fibres du sol palpitèrent,
(IX, 395-96, 398, pp. 202-203)

Yet Jocelyn cannot be called realistic. There is another side to the pathetic story set in the sublime Alps that belongs to early romanticism. Like Paul et Virginie, which Jocelyn reads (I, 139-44, p. 42), it relies on exoticism. Even Valneige, with its everyday work in the fields, its winter and its cholera epidemic, avoids the turmoil of civilization and constitutes the ideal soil for the good seed of the "prêtre évangélique."²⁴ The Alps are inaccessible enough to play the role of the Edenic island. The Grotte des Aigles above all is not only referred to by Jocelyn as the "Eden de [sa] vie" (VI, 1, p. 149), but also furnished in profusion with

paradisiac objects. The works of Rousseau and Sénancour had suggested that the Alps concealed gardens of Eden which are as protected by barriers of rocks as a desert island is by trackless sea.

Sainte-Beuve had noted this aspect of Jocelyn:

Jocelyn . . . rentre dans une situation qu'ont rêvée une fois tous les coeurs sensibles épris de la nature au printemps. Sa Grotte des Aigles, c'est son île Saint-Pierre plus inaccessible, une île de Robinson grandiose et poétique, une Otaïti déserte et aussi fortunée.²⁵

Henri Guillemin enumerates the various "souvenirs livresques" to be found in Jocelyn, such as pastoral elegy, "fête champêtre," and solitude made pleasant by love, but the hunt for sources and analogues must not obscure the fact of the permanence of those themes. Even if Salomon Gessner's Idylls prove to be Lamartine's immediate source, the ideal landscape and its related themes belong to the general inheritance of western literature studied by E. R. Curtius. Curtius warns us not to be surprised at the diet of German monks, which includes tropical fruit, because the list is a kind of traditional recipe.²⁶ In the same way, noting how oak trees and swans are unlikely to exist close by glaciers (II, 639, 673, pp. 68-69), we must understand that Lamartine does not necessarily depend on a recent source, but that he merely voices once more the natural longing of "any sensitive soul" in terms of the appropriate literary motif, the ideal landscape, with the modifications required by the Alpine setting.

The location of the Grotte des Aigles only matters because it helps us visualize the place: it does not explain the existence of the poem. Although a torrent does exist that has carved its way around boulders, the significant fact in Jocelyn is the difficulty of

access (II, 485-514, p. 65). In Novalis' Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Heinrich in the opening pages dreams that he is carried by a river on an underground journey (p. 91). This subterranean voyage is a kind of trial, the mystery and darkness of which symbolize death and rebirth. In Jocelyn, the supreme test has been prepared by a long climb. From a gloomy abyss the hero eventually arrives at a valley characterized by milder shapes and vegetation which conditions him for the perfect spot, "ce creux vallon," "arrondi," adorned with trees, fruit, birds and a spring (II, 521-38, p. 66). The natural means of sustenance are those of the first men: fishing, milking, finding eggs and berries. The Robinson-like simplicity and cleverness reveal man as the king of nature. There is no hunting in this first picture, which makes it closer to a prelapsarian state than to the actual life of mountaineers. Although the garden of Eden is usually placed on top of a hill and Jocelyn's paradise in a vale, the difference is easily explained by the need for enclosing walls--the summits around the vale are described as "remparts" (II, 601, p. 68). Besides, the whole scene is set high in the Alps, in order to be closer to heaven and further from the horror of French Revolution: the mountain in fact represents a new Promised Land, seen from far away and reached, by Jocelyn, after a seven nights' walk, while charitable hands give him bread (II, 397-520, pp. 63-66).

As for the cave, it does not have any negative connotation, as one could expect of an underground location from a poet who follows the traditional preferences for light and height. Indeed, it does not suggest a time of trial either, since that role is taken by the

torrent: it only functions as the perfect shelter closed on every side except for a hidden entrance and an opening over "un immense horizon" (II, 734, p. 71). Its walls therefore add a concrete detail to the realistic aspect of the poem, but at the same time they emphasize the separation from a threatening outside world, whether it be winter (III, 803-20, p. 93) or the Revolution.

Jocelyn is ambiguous: down-to-earth by its concrete imagery, it evokes an idyll in an exotic landscape and indulges in the pathetic. The romantic story first gives the impression that, as in the Méditations, Lamartine expresses a longing for an escape from this heavy, corporeal world, and that mountains only stand as unreal decor or even "une création intellectuelle."²⁷ Yet a study of the images points to a consistent search for the concrete. While the plot depends on the poet's conscious choice and literary influences, the images--granted the limits of the language at the poet's disposal--belong more fundamentally to the creative act, and therefore to the poet's vision of the world. Whereas 1820 Méditations reveal Lamartine's endeavour to dematerialize objects, Jocelyn shows the opposite tendency, which is confirmed by the biographical fact of Lamartine's engagement. The mountain indeed exemplifies the change: hardly present in the Méditations it constitutes the firm ground of Jocelyn.

CHAPTER VI

HOW THE ROMANTICS

SEE

MONT BLANC

In Wordsworth, the mountain as setting is favourable to a sublime experience which enables the poet to see a unity even in the midst of contrasts. The mountain itself becomes the symbol of the eternal meaning underlying apparent changes and contradictions. Lamartine stresses the solidity of the mountain as well as its height, evocative of a spiritual realm. To see if the use that they make of the mountain image is typically romantic, other poems on mountains by romantic writers would have to be examined. Prose descriptions of journeys to Mont Blanc by Chateaubriand, Shelley, Nodier, Hugo, George Sand, Gautier and other French and English travellers would also reveal common features. In her study of La Littérature alpestre, Claire-Eliane Engel surveys a large number of relevant texts.¹ The smaller scope of my paper however compels me to select a few representative poems. In particular, four poems on Mont Blanc lend themselves well to a comparative study. They are Coleridge's "Hymn before Sun-rise, in the Vale of Chamouni" (1802), Shelley's "Mont Blanc" (1816), Lamartine's "Le Mont Blanc" (1849) and Hugo's "Les Montagnes, Désintéressement" (1855).² An analysis of these works, with references to other poems on the Alps (or the Pyrénées), will enable us to see whether the romantic movement has transformed the

image of the mountain inherited from the eighteenth century.

I

The earliest of the four poems is Coleridge's "Hymn before Sun-rise." Adrien Bonjour studied it in detail, focusing on the matter of plagiarism, for the "Hymn" is based on a poem by Friederike Brun written in 1791.³ Coleridge had never seen Mont Blanc when he wrote it, yet this fact should not be brought up to disparage his work. "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner," for instance, proves that readings and imagination can compensate for lack of first-hand knowledge.

The poem describes a sublime scenery with the usual devices: contrasts, periphrases and rhetorical questions. Moreover, the mountain arouses feelings of awe and worship. Like the Gondo Gorge (in Wordsworth's Simplan episode), Mont Blanc strikes the onlooker by contrasts of heat and cold, light and darkness, immobility and movement, and life and death. Whereas Wordsworth intensifies the paradox by accumulating the oppositions within one sentence, Coleridge scatters contrasting effects throughout the description: "green vales" versus "icy cliffs" (l. 28); "sunless pillars" versus "rosy light" (ll. 36-37); "living flowers" versus "eternal frost" (l. 64); and "pure serene" versus "depth of clouds" (ll. 73-74). The strongest impression is made by the juxtaposition of eternity and mutability: "For ever shattered and the same for ever" (l. 43); "Unceasing thunder and eternal foam" (l. 46) and "motionless torrents" (l. 53) are only

a few examples of the general effect of the scene. Coleridge emphasizes the fact that time has stopped. Ever-moving waves have stiffened and flowing rivers have become glaciers. Man's perennial wish to make a privileged moment last for ever is realized here. "O temps, suspends ton vol," said Lamartine: Coleridge implies a similar longing when he attempts to convey the symbolism of Mont Blanc. The glacier represents a synthesis of action and rest and of intense life such as it is experienced by man, but made eternal in a way which normally always eludes man. Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn" also expresses a lasting peak of happiness such as only a work of art can achieve. Keats sees the union of eternity and time symbolized in a work of art, whereas Coleridge perceives it in Mont Blanc.

There are weaknesses in Coleridge's "Hymn," and Wordsworth even accused it of being an example of the mock sublime.⁴ Even though the poet is sensitive to the deep meaning of the glacier, the details he uses to convey his intuition belong to the usual catalogue of mountain descriptions. He alludes to the creation of mountains, a problem which was often discussed during the eighteenth century: "Who sank thy sunless pillars deep in Earth?" (l. 36).⁵ "Awful head," gulfs and eagles very often appear in mountain descriptions.**

*Wordsworth applies the term "pillar" to the glaciers themselves in "Processions, Suggested on a Sabbath Morning in the Vale of Chamouny" (Memorial of a Tour on the Continent, 1820, XXXII, in The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt and Helen Darbishire, III, 191-93 [1821-22]).

**For instance in Scott's "Helvellyn" and The Lord of the Isles, III, xvi (in The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, ed. by J. Logie Robertson, pp. 703 and 433 [1805; The Lord of the Isles, publ. 1833]).

Coleridge does not develop the theme of the "dark and icy caverns" (l. 41), which are rich in symbolism in other poems such as "Kubla Khan" and Wordsworth's Snowdon episode. It will be Shelley who shall stress it in his poem on Mont Blanc.

II

Shelley, it is true, also uses traditional features: personification of the free winds, gulfs, lightning, rainbow and waterfalls, but he modifies the usual descriptive pattern. Although he entitles his poem "Mont Blanc," he focuses on the Ravine of the Arve.* He starts with thoughts on the human mind, and immediately the workings of water in the gorge become the symbol of the workings of the creative power in the subconscious. The apostrophe at the beginning of section II is particularly significant, for it is not addressed to the Arve, or even the Ravine in itself, but to the Ravine as channel of this Power, which undergoes a sort of incarnation. The description of the ravine focuses on cavern, gorge, and echo, which all prepare the shift from the scenery to the poet's mind. The mind floats above the gorge, like the Spirit of God above the waters at Creation, then rests in the secret cave of creativity, and then comes back to the poet's breast, where the ravine is now, under the form of the

*Victor Hugo also is more interested in the abyss than in the mountain in "Eglogue," where he evokes the myth of Prometheus (Les Contemplations, "Autrefois," XII, in Oeuvres complètes, XX, 79), and Wordsworth equates it with the human mind in the Snowdon episode of The Prelude.

poem itself.

The third section uses mountain gloom--the earthquake for instance--but in a much deeper way than in Coleridge's poem. It signifies more than simple original chaos: it is the chaos of death still threatening.⁶ "So much of life and joy is lost" (l. 117, p. 534), says section IV, which develops the theme of death with the help of usual architecture images. The stream, in these upper regions, destroys: Shelley evokes the destructive power of creativity. However, the poet's creativity is only one element in the cosmic fight between life and death signified by the glacier. The glacier is the main symbol in Shelley. The sterile ice covers abysses in which waters are gathering; eventually, the waters:

. . . from those secret chasms in tumult welling
Meet in the vale, and one majestic River,
The breath and blood of distant lands, for ever
Rolls its loud waters to the ocean-waves,
Breathes its swift vapours to the circling air.
(p. 534)

Shelley concludes on silence and solitude, while he looks again at Mont Blanc itself, but he remains aware of secret workings under the surface of things, as Wordsworth does on Mount Snowdon.

III

Before examining Lamartine's and Hugo's poems on Mont Blanc, brief reference must be made to Byron, whose alpine descriptions in Manfred, The Prisoner of Chillon and Childe Harold's Pilgrimage are almost contemporary with Shelley's "Mont Blanc" and who popularized some aspects of the mountain.⁷

As Lamartine suggests in "L'Homme," Byron symbolizes the man of genius' proud contempt of ordinary life by stressing his love of mountains solitude:

My joy was in the wilderness,--to breathe
The difficult air of the iced mountain's top.
(Manfred, II, ii, 62-63, p. 396)

The third scene of Act II describes "the Summit of the Jungfrau Mountain" with a few usual details: frozen foam (as in Coleridge) and earthquake (a remnant from the geological controversy). The Prisoner of Chillon only mentions the "thousand years of snow" and introduces the waterfall (XIII, p. 340), which is a subsidiary theme to that of the mountain. In Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, architecture imagery, the sublime expansion of the spirit and appalling horror (typical of Burke as well as of Wordsworth), and union with nature constitute the main ingredients of the description of the Alps.

IV

Lamartine's "Le Mont Blanc. Sur un paysage de M. Calame" evokes genius, the theme that we met in Manfred and that frequently occurs in Lamartine's work. The isolation of the high mountain recalls that of the man of genius who seems to suffer "d'un froid et morne isolement" (p. 494) but hides a warm heart, since it has a companion. Companionship or narcissism? For the mountain is mirrored in a lake. In fact the whole poem converges to the Lamartinian image of the lake. The lake does not exist in the usual picture of the Mont Blanc but probably does in Calame's

painting.* The apostrophe, the rhymes (sublime / cime) and the vocabulary (voûte, pieds, front) are the same as in most of the mountain descriptions encountered in our study and do not sound original. Even the secondary theme conveyed in this stereotyped language is familiar: "Dieu fit grandir" the chosen ones who stand above others.

Other poems by Lamartine use themes which are related to the idea of genius expounded in "Mont Blanc." These themes are also linked with the mountain. "Le Génie" and "La Poésie sacrée" emphasize the religious vocation of the poet, while "L'Abbaye de Vallombreuse dans les Apennins" unites the two ideas of monastic vocation and solitude on the mountain.⁸ The Méditation entitled "La Solitude" develops the topos of the blessed man who leaves the fragile "voile humaine" sailing "sur une onde incertaine" and goes to the mountain where "Dieu grava sa force et son éternité" (p. 396).⁹ The mountain thus stands for permanence and is opposed to flowing water, which represents the mutability of human life. "L'Adieu" and "Le Lac" bring into play the same symbols.¹⁰ There is a stronger dichotomy in Lamartine than in Coleridge's description of eternal movement in glaciers.

The mountain in "La Solitude" symbolizes stability for two reasons. On the one hand, "leur masse auguste et leur solidité" (p. 396) are like the biblical image of the rock which represents God's faithfulness. On the other hand, their height constitutes a

*Alexandre Calame (1810-64), a Swiss painter, was well-known for his alpine landscapes. He painted a "Mont Blanc" in 1838. I could not find any reproduction of it.

step towards the freedom of the soul from material contingency.

"L'homme . . . surnage" "dans cet air du ciel" (p. 398) and escapes from evil, which, "comme un vil plomb" (p. 398), falls down to the lower regions. The positive value of height* includes therefore also the mountain, which in "La Solitude" becomes a step to the spiritual instead of an obstacle as it was in the Méditations of 1820.

The same longing for an escape to the spiritual world reappears in "L'Infini dans les cieux."¹¹ This Harmonie amplifies "L'Isolement" and reaches the highest degree of dematerialization of exterior objects, for the summits themselves are blurred in the sky:

L'harmonieux éther, dans ses vagues d'azur,
Enveloppe les monts d'un fluide plus pur;
Leurs contours qu'il éteint, leurs cimes qu'il efface,
Semblent nager dans l'air et trembler dans l'espace.
(p. 388)

Lamartine's "Mont Blanc" and still more his other poems dealing with mountains that we have just examined rely on the usual elements of mountain descriptions. Eagle, lightning and clouds haunt the "front solennel" of these "auguste pyramides" and the traveller "jouit avec horreur de cet effroi sublime" ("La Solitude," pp. 396-97). The expression "océans congelés" occurs in "Ressouvenir du Lac Léman," which moreover deals with the theme of a free Switzerland, so often repeated after Haller.¹²

*Which, according to Northrop Frye, is one of the distinguishing traits of European poetry before the romantic revolution. Novalis' "Hymnen an die Nacht" exemplifies the romantic revolution in this respect.

V

A lengthy treatment of the history of the Swiss is included in Victor Hugo's La Légende des siècles, under the title "Dix-septième siècle. Les Mercenaires. Le Régiment du baron Madruce (Garde impériale suisse)."¹³ Geographical and historical enumerations, apostrophes to natural objects, exclamations and alternative speakers confer upon it an epic style which unites the grotesque with the sublime in numerous contrasts, for example, between mercenary life and proud independence; glorious history and present shame; mountain gloom and mountain glory ("la sereine horreur des antres" [p. 79]). It eventually holds the positive opinion that the Alps are a remnant of Eden, the good influence of which will last even though the Swiss temporarily forfeit their honour.*

But Victor Hugo's main contribution to the poetry of the mountain is "Les Montagnes. Désintéressement," which gives Mont Blanc its prominent place among the summits of the Alps.

Like "Le Régiment du baron Madruce" and Coleridge's "Hymn," it accumulates details to be expected in a mountain description: epic catalogue of place-names, personification, contrasts such as "il a la glace et le gazon," and "sur son versant sublime il a les douze mois" (p. 160). The succession of metaphors in parallel alexandrines seems to exhaust the repertoire of what can be said about

*Musset also praises the virtues of an alpine "primitive" society--Tyrol this time--in the "Invocation" of the dramatic poem La Coupe et les lèvres (in Poésies complètes, éd. par Maurice Allem, pp. 159-61 [1832]).

Mont Blanc. This style reminds one at the same time of a Greek chorus and of Cyrano de Bergerac's "tirade du nez" in Rostand's play. The noble and the grotesque are also combined in the beginning of the poem. A series of four alexandrines followed by an enjambement sets off the verb ("apparaît"), thus reproducing the way Mont Blanc stands apart. This device is used twice successively. The first series includes noble similes ("Comme Samson parmi les enfants d'Amalec, / Comme la grande pierre au centre du Cromlech") while the second alludes to the origin of mountains. It transforms into a grotesque image the "mountain gloom" theory that sin was the cause of mountains:

Et les monts, froncement du globe, relief sombre
De la terre pétrie au pied de Jéhova,
Goûte qu'en se dressant quelque satan creva,
L'admirent, . . .

(p. 159)

The conclusion of the poem indicates clearly what Mont Blanc symbolizes for Hugo: "Et nous l'insulterions si nous étions des hommes" (p. 160). It stands for the emperor. The praises of his "subjects" have a cumulative effect which eventually conveys the ambiguous superiority of Mont Blanc over lower mountains. Victor Hugo's symbolism is akin to John Denham's and to Lamartine's in that the mountain stands for the proud man who lives aloof of others.*¹⁴

*The vocabulary of "Les Montagnes. Désintéressement" (eagle, chamois, sea, coat and shoulder) recurs in Hugo's other poems on mountains: in Les Feuilles d'automne, VII, "Dicté en présence du glacier du Rhône," and X, "Un jour au mont Atlas . . ." (in Oeuvres complètes, XVIII, 32-36 and 45 [1829 and 1830]).

VI

The mountain has also inspired Musset and Vigny, as well as the Swiss poet Juste Olivier.* A glance at their poems will complement the results found in Lamartine and Hugo.

Musset portrays the Alps in "Souvenir des Alpes," where he uses the cliché of the chamois-hunter made popular by Byron's Manfred.¹⁵ He contrasts the Alps with Italy, which is another frequent feature of such descriptions,** and he combines the physical change with the observer's mood.

Memories from other poets enrich the newcomers' experience. Thus Musset quotes Byron in "Souvenir des Alpes," and Lamartine evokes Rousseau, Voltaire, Byron and Madame de Staël in "Ressouvenir du Lac Léman." Vigny also relies on the past. In fact he sees much more than an empty landscape. In "Le Cor. Poème," he peoples the scenery like a painter, but does so with the medieval figure of Roland, who becomes a mythic hero. The reminiscence is started by the sound of the horn, not by the scenery, and the horn gives the poem its unity. In "Le Déluge. Mystère," the character recalls Lamartine's Cédar: half man and half angel. He incarnates a link between heaven and earth but heaven remains closed to him as he stands on the highest mountain.¹⁶ The deluge often came to mind in connection with mountains since the seventeenth and eighteenth-century geological controversy had tried to determine how the surface of the earth had changed.

*Juste Olivier (1804-76) taught history at Lausanne, wrote in Revue des deux Mondes in Paris, corresponded with Sainte-Beuve.

**Compare with Goethe's well-known "Mignons Italienlied," "Kennst du das Land . . ." (Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, III, 1), in Goethes Werke, VII, 145.

To the old belief that the earth was beautifully smooth before the deluge, Vigny prefers the picture of regular mountains:

Et des monts réguliers l'immense architecture
S'élevait jusqu'aux Cieux par ses degrés égaux.
(p. 31)

The chosen couple, heroic and accursed at the same time, sees the earth from far above like Milton's Satan. A sublime trait of Paradise Lost is thus reproduced.

The discoveries of geology, ignored by Lamartine, who addresses the "oeuvres du premier jour . . . qui depuis ce grand jour n'avez jamais changé" ("La Solitude," p. 397), inspire Juste Olivier with an original treatment of the mountain. Instead of contemplating its eternity, he is painfully aware that they will disappear too and he turns to his wife for comfort.¹⁷ His religious tone recalls Lamartine, as well as his evocation of a proud "sapin exilé" ("Le Sapin," p. 120). He also compares inspiration to a torrent and the poet to a "pic séculaire / Que bat la nue au fondre ardent" ("Le Torrent noir," p. 99).¹⁸ Although we cannot place him among the French Romantics, his mountain poetry is of interest to us because it shows that expressions such as,

Les sentiers suspendus où le chamois hésite;
Les cimes que l'éclair ou le vent seul visite
("Lettre écrite de la montagne," p. 26)

are indeed stock phrases.

The poems by Musset, Vigny and Olivier that we have just examined do not significantly alter the conclusion that we can draw from the four poems on Mont Blanc. It would appear that the English emphasize the philosophical aspect of the mountain symbol more than

the French. They take it to represent paradoxes of the human mind, whereas Hugo and Lamartine (in "Mont Blanc" as well as in the other works considered in this chapter) see the moral symbolism of height. On the whole, the French poems are more dependent on eighteenth-century ideas (for instance, pride, permanence, contrast between Italy and the Alps, and geological dilemma).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Wordsworth and Lamartine inherited a mountain image that had been shaped by the eighteenth century as well as by the western tradition on the whole. Their approach to it in their first romantic collections of poems is different from their approach in later works because they did not immediately fully exploit its potential symbolism.

In the first chapter of my study I examined the place of mountains in literature before 1800. A prevalent indifference, dislike or allegorizing is succeeded in the eighteenth century by a growing interest in natural grandeur. This phenomenon has been explained in part by the development of geology and astronomy, which influenced the development of aesthetics. The picturesque and the sublime, with their applications in painting, landscape gardening and the Gothic novel, account to a great extent for the fashion of alpine descriptions. Precursors such as Haller, Ramond and Rousseau are historically significant while Goethe's and Hölderlin's major poetry enriches the symbolism of the mountain, using it as a scenery and an image of human plight and greatness.

Chapter Two considers the Lyrical Ballads from the point of view of the sublime. Instead of an elevated subject-matter Wordsworth chooses scenes of humble life and attempts to convey their sublimity by means of the devices and qualities required, according to Longinus, of sublime poetry, that is, figures of speech, emotional involvement of the characters with nature and of the reader with the characters,

and above all true passion in the poet. The Lyrical Ballads therefore do not rely on their mountain setting for their sublimity: mountains on the contrary are subordinate to the characters, who, like other simple "rustics," have a realistic attitude: they take only a moderate interest in them.

But the mountains of the Lyrical Ballads are those of the English countryside: they do not provoke the same kind of reaction as the Alps. If Wordsworth has chosen this humble setting for the Lyrical Ballads, he has not always done so in his poetry. Descriptive Sketches and Book VI of The Prelude describe the Alps, while Book I, II and XIV invest the Lake District and Mount Snowdon with alpine grandeur. Wordsworth first experiments with the traditional sublime and picturesque in An Evening Walk and in Descriptive Sketches. Then he rejects this mechanical association of mountains with the sublime in the Lyrical Ballads, where he humbly submits himself to the teaching of nature herself, free from the distortions of aesthetic theories. Because he has abandoned his search for sublimity in the mountain, he is paradoxically ready to perceive it, like a gratuitous revelation, in "Tintern Abbey." Finally, in The Prelude, he thinks again of the Alps and this time he experiences the sublime union with natural grandeur which he vainly tried to provoke in the earlier works.

Lamartine also shows a development, from an initial indifference towards mountains in the Méditations poétiques, to the choice of an alpine setting for Jocelyn. But he does so for a different reason. The Méditations express a longing for a spiritual world

which is conveyed by means of water and air imagery. Because of its material mass, the mountain is an obstacle to the flight of the soul which the poet attempts to represent in words. In some cases, the concrete obstacle is placed in the landscape in order to avoid a full commitment to the spiritual, but more often it is discarded: the scenery of the Méditations includes very few mountains.

By the time of Jocelyn, however, Lamartine has become involved in politics and recommends a poetry that speaks to the people in their daily and material surroundings. The mountain in Jocelyn provides this concrete foundation to the poetical world. Its effect is strengthened by architecture, mass, weight, fabric and tactile imagery. If the Méditations are characterized by a process of spiritualization, Jocelyn shows the opposite movement: concretization. The spirit is now embodied.

A glance at other English and French romantic poems reveals that the mountain is used as a symbol of permanence united with the temporal (Coleridge), of a power which is at the same time destructive and creative (Shelley) and of pride and aloofness (Byron, Lamartine and Hugo).

In the works that I have examined, the mountain image does not undergo as significant and early a transformation as some other images do. In particular, it displays no change comparable to the reversal of the relative value of spatial positions and directions, and of light and darkness (exemplified in Novalis' "Hymnen an die Nacht"). Instead of a revolution, we see that mountain symbolism is progressively enriched with new aspects which are added to the surviving eighteenth-century features. Wordsworth and Lamartine

both use the mountain more fully in their later works than in the Lyrical Ballads and the Méditations. If we take these two early works as the first phase of English and French romantic poetry, we can say that at the beginning of the romantic movement the mountain plays only a secondary role and remains close to the eighteenth-century tradition. In the Lyrical Ballads the mountain either threatens or isolates or else it guarantees permanence and sincerity: we are not far from mountain gloom and primitivism. In the Méditations, the height of the mountain stands for intellectual superiority, and its mass for the concrete, and both meanings are generally negative.

Jocelyn does not differ from the Méditations as much as The Prelude from the Lyrical Ballads with regard to the mountain. In Jocelyn, height still implies spiritual value and mass stands for concreteness, but now both symbols are used positively. Jocelyn explores his interior life at the same time as he discovers the Alps; thus height represents spiritual life. Besides this, his interior life is inserted in a concrete frame: faith leads Jocelyn to Valneige. Lamartine makes full use of some aspects of the mountain that he discarded in the Méditations.

The Prelude exploits a symbolism which the Lyrical Ballads did not use. The mountain represents first the paradoxes that exist in life. Then the poet discovers that a harmony is established by means of a balance between these opposites. This harmony either originates from the plan of God on life, or, in a more limited way, from the work of art which integrates contradictory elements into a whole. At any rate there are contradictions in life and yet we can

reach a harmonious balance: such is the teaching of the mountain in The Prelude.

There is however a further complexity. The apparent balance conceals gorges, caves, crevasses with a subterranean activity of waters under the glacier or at the bottom of gorges. Coleridge and Victor Hugo have briefly alluded to this mystery of the mountain, while Hölderlin and Shelley have stressed it. These powerful, hidden forces that might both destroy and create can be related to the mystery either of the subconscious, or of artistic creation (which comes from deep and unfathomable zones of man's imagination), or of life (the destructive forces of evil are inseparable from life and creation, a lesson already impressively drawn by Goethe). We can distinguish therefore three steps in the mountain symbolism of these romantic poets: contradictions, balance and hidden chaos. To my knowledge, the eighteenth century did not go so far in its approach to the mountain.

Moreover, the caves in the mountain contain precious stones and mines; mischievous goblins and witches watch over them. Tieck develops this folkloric aspect, while Novalis praises the miners' life in Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Shelley also alludes to the cave of the witch Poesy.

Wordsworth and Lamartine do not mention mines, but they do speak of caves. The Grotte des Aigles is the setting of Jocelyn's self-discovery, while Wordsworth in the Snowdon description compares the chasms in the sea of mist and their roaring waters to the mysterious workings of creative imagination. In this sense, it would

seem that Wordsworth in The Prelude and Lamartine in Jocelyn go beyond the eighteenth-century tradition and are closer to Shelley's "Mont Blanc" and even to some poetical statements of Goethe and Hölderlin, as well as to narratives of Novalis and Tieck, than to their own earlier work.

CHAPTER I

NOTES

¹Northrop Frye, ed., Romanticism Reconsidered. Selected Papers from the English Institute, which includes Frye's "The Drunken Boat: The Revolutionary Element in Romanticism" and M. H. Abrams' "English Romanticism: The Spirit of the Age." Frye, "The Romantic Myth," in A Study of English Romanticism. Abrams, "The Correspondent Breeze: A Romantic Metaphor," in English Romantic Poets. Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. by M. H. Abrams. Also The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition. And Natural Supernaturalism, Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature. And "Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric," in Romanticism and Consciousness. Essays in Criticism, ed. by Harold Bloom. Paul de Man, "Structure intentionnelle de l'image romantique," Revue Internationale de Philosophie, XIV, No. 51 (1960), 68-84, reprinted as "Intentional Structure of the Romantic Image," in Romanticism and Consciousness. Paul Van Tieghem, Le Romantisme dans la littérature européenne.

²"West European Romanticism: Definition and Scope," p. 236.

³"Ein Schlüssel zur westeuropäischen Romantik?," p. 427.

⁴William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Lyrical Ballads. 1798, ed. by W. J. B. Owen, p. 3. All the quotations from the Lyrical Ballads will be from this edition and will be identified by the page numbers in brackets.

⁵See John E. Jordan, "The Novelty of the Lyrical Ballads," in Bicentenary Wordsworth Studies in Memory of John Alban Finch, ed. by Jonathan Wordsworth, pp. 346, 355-57.

⁶See Morris H. Needleman and William Bradley Otis, An Outline-History of English Literature, vol. II, 2nd ed., p. 444. Paul Van Tieghem, Le Romantisme dans la littérature européenne, p. 136. Abrams, "English Romanticism: The Spirit of the Age," p. 27. Owen, ed., Lyrical Ballads. 1798, p. xx. Furst, Romanticism, p. 46. Jordan, "The Novelty of the Lyrical Ballads," p. 340.

⁷ See Richard Haswell, "The Narrative Technique of Wordsworth, 1787-1800," DA, XXVIII (1967-68), 4630-31A.

⁸ See Joseph Texte, "William Wordsworth," Revue des deux Mondes (15 juil. 1896), p. 334. Wellek, The Romantic Age, p. 130. Furst, Romanticism, p. 45.

⁹ Fernand Letessier, éd., Méditations, pp. lxxxvi-xci.

¹⁰ Gustave Lanson, "Le Centenaire des Méditations," Revue des deux Mondes (1er mars 1920), p. 98.

¹¹ Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, Correspondance générale, éd. par Jean Bonnerot, XIV, 446-47.

¹² Quoted in Letessier, éd., Méditations, p. xxxiv.

¹³ Picon, "La Poésie au XIXe siècle," in Histoire des littératures, éd. par Raymond Queneau, III, 898. Pierre Moreau, Le Romantisme, p. 132. André Lagarde et Laurent Michard, XIXe Siècle, p. 85.

¹⁴ Portraits contemporains, I, 340. For instances of comparisons, see Henri Guillemin, Le "Jocelyn" de Lamartine. Etude historique et critique avec des documents inédits, pp. 587 ff.

¹⁵ "Wordsworth in France," in The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, ed. by William Knight, VIII, 423.

¹⁶ By Villemain for instance. See Texte, "William Wordsworth," *passim*. Maxwell Austin Smith, L'Influence des lakistes sur les romantiques français, pp. 21-29 and 343-58. Legouis, "Wordsworth in France," pp. 424-25.

¹⁷ See Legouis, "Wordsworth in France," p. 425.

¹⁸ See Smith, L'Influence des lakistes, pp. 30-65.

¹⁹ Jocelyn, éd. par Marius-François Guyard (Garnier-Flammarion), p. 29. Lyrical Ballads. 1798, p. 4.

²⁰ Alphonse de Lamartine, Les Confidences, pp. 55-62.

²¹Philippe Van Tieghem, Les Influences étrangères sur la littérature française, p. 191. Legouis, "Wordsworth in France," p. 424. Smith, L'Influence des lakistes, p. 345. Guillemin, Le "Jocelyn" de Lamartine, p. 595.

²²See Léon Séché, "Les Sources littéraires des Méditations," Mercure de France, LVII (15 sept. 1905), 162-63. Guillemin, Le "Jocelyn" de Lamartine, pp. 570-87.

²³See Frye, "The Drunken Boat. The Revolutionary Element in Romanticism."

²⁴"Trends of Recent Research on West European Romanticism," p. 486. Outside romanticism, the mountain has been studied for instance in Robert Frost. See Nancy Simon Grider, "Mountains as Metaphor in the Poetry of Robert Frost," Mast. Abst., IX, No. 2 (June 1971), 77.

CHAPTER II

NOTES

¹Biese, The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times and Das Naturgefühl im Wandel der Zeiten. Mornet, Le Sentiment de la nature en France de J.-J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. Reynolds, The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth. Paul Van Tieghem, Le Sentiment de la nature dans le préromantisme européen. Lovejoy, "The First Gothic Revival and the Return to Nature," in Essays in the History of Ideas. The expressions: "mountain gloom" and "mountain glory" used by M. H. Nicolson in her title come from Ruskin's Modern Painters. See Nicolson, Mountain Gloom, pp. 4-6.

²See Walter Woodburn Hyde, "The Ancient Appreciation of Mountain Scenery," Classical Journal, XI (1915), 70-85; Nicolson, Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory, pp. 38-40. For a more positive opinion, see Henry Rushton Fairclough, Love of Nature among the Greeks and the Romans, pp. 258-65.

³Livy 19.32: "other terrors more horrible to see than to describe." Horace Carm., 1.9. On Caesar, see Suetonius De Vita Caesarum 1.10.56. Lucretius De Rerum Natura 5. 198-202 and 492-94. In Laelius sive de amicitia 19.68, Cicero writes: "... locis ipsis delect[amur], montuosis etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus." ("We take delight even in places, even in the mountains and forests in which we have dwelt for some time"). Fairclough gives this sentence as an example of positive feeling towards mountains, but I think that "etiam"--although part of the expression: nec vero, sed etiam--gives a pejorative connotation ("even mountains").

⁴Quoted in Arnold Lunn, The Englishman in the Alps, p. 9.

⁵De Sermone Domini in Monte 2.17. But at the beginning of the same work, St. Augustine says: "'mountain' . . . stands for the greater precepts of righteousness, the lesser ones of course being those which were given to the Jew" (I, 2). See also Confessions 10.8.

⁶This is how Michael Drayton entitled his work in 1622.

⁷Quoted in Lunn, The Englishman in the Alps, pp. 11-12.

⁸Voyages en Europe, in Oeuvres complètes, éd. par Daniel Oster, p. 307. He was in Tyrol in 1729.

⁹Misson, Nouveau Voyage d'Italie (1702), quoted in Geoffroy Atkinson and Abraham C. Keller, Prelude to the Enlightenment. French Literature, 1690-1740, pp. 122-23.

¹⁰Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott, I, 268-75.

¹¹De Admirazione Montium, quoted in Biese, The Development of the Feeling for Nature, p. 264.

¹²For instance at the Great St. Bernard: see Alfred Pellouchoud, Le Grand Saint-Bernard, p. 13.

¹³Quoted in Claire-Eliane Engel, La Littérature alpestre en France et en Angleterre aux XVIIIème et XIXème siècles, p. 7.

¹⁴Pellouchoud, Grand Saint-Bernard, pp. 13-17.

¹⁵Nicolson, Mountain Gloom, p. 62.

¹⁶See Mountain Gloom, especially pp. 78, 87, 97, 102, 131, 200, 206, 213, 253ff., 263.

¹⁷Walpole, Letter from Turin, Nov. 11, 1739, in The Letters of Horace Walpole, ed. by Paget Toynbee, I, 40-43. Gray, Letter from Turin, Nov. 1739, in Correspondence of Thomas Gray, ed. by Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, pp. 125-27.

¹⁸These articles are entitled "The Gothic Revival and the Return to Nature," Modern Language Notes, XLVIII (1932), 419-46; and "The Chinese Origin of Romanticism," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XXXII (1933), 1-20. They are both reprinted in Arthur O. Lovejoy, Essays in the History of Ideas. See also Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival. An Essay in the History of Taste.

¹⁹Girardin, quoted by Daniel Mornet, Le Sentiment de la nature en France de J.-J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, p. 248.

²⁰"and it is to that exact Regularity that it owes its admirable Beauty." The Critical Works of John Dennis, ed. by Edward Niles Hooker, I, 335; see also I, 202.

²¹"From a Hamlet among the Mountains of Savoy, Sept. 28, 1739," in Letters of Horace Walpole, I, 36.

²²For instance Knight's An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste, 1805.

²³Quoted in J. R. Watson, Picturesque Landscape and English Romantic Poetry, p. 19.

²⁴See Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring, Italian landscape in Eighteenth-Century England. A Study chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvador Rosa on English Taste, 1700-1800, pp. 110-15.

²⁵The Picturesque, p. 14.

²⁶Descriptive Sketches, in The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt and Helen Darbishire, I, 62.

²⁷This date is preferred to 1756 by Samuel Monk; see The Sublime, p. 85 n.

²⁸By Akenside, for instance. See Manwaring, Italian Landscape, pp. 111-12.

²⁹For a discussion of the sublime of humble life, see M. H. Abrams, Natural Supernaturalism; Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature, pp. 395-96. See also below, Chapter III.

³⁰Immanuel Kant, Kritik der Urteilskraft, hrsg. von Karl Vorländer, p. 89.

³¹A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, ed. by J. T. Boulton, p. 136. The preceding quotations were respectively from p. 166 and p. 136.

³²Kritik der Urteilskraft, p. 111.

³³Nicolson, Mountain Gloom, pp. 29-31.

³⁴See George Saintsbury, History of Criticism, I, 154, about how to translate peri hupsous. See also Nicolson, Mountain Gloom, p. 31.

³⁵ Longinus on the Sublime, trans. by A. O. Prickard, Section VIII, p. 13. For the sake of brevity, I simply refer to "Longinus" in spite of the questionable authorship. Further quotations will be identified by the section and the page numbers in brackets.

³⁶ For examples, see Monk, The Sublime, p. 27.

³⁷ The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition, p. 133.

³⁸ Erich Haase, Zur Bedeutung von "je ne sais quoi" im 17. Jahrhundert, Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, LXVII, Heft 1 (Sept. 1956), 59.

³⁹ Théodore A. Litman, Le Sublime en France (1660-1714), p. 240.

⁴⁰ Basil Munteano, "Survivances antiques. L'Abbé Du Bos, esthéticien de la persuasion passionnelle," Revue de Littérature Comparée, XXX, 3 (juil.-sept. 1956), 319. The following quotation comes from the same source, p. 341.

⁴¹ Crousaz, Traité du beau (1714). D'Alembert, Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie (1751). Diderot, Entretiens sur le fils naturel (1757). See Yvon Belaval, "Au siècle des lumières," in Histoire des littératures, éd. par Raymond Queneau, III, 652-61.

⁴² Litman, Le Sublime en France, p. 241.

⁴³ "Gothic Versus Romantic," PMLA, LXXXIV (March 1969), p. 284. The next quotation comes from the same page. See Rictor Norton, "Aesthetic Gothic Horror," Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, XXI (1972), 31-40, for a tentative synthesis.

⁴⁴ The Gothic Flame, p. 20.

⁴⁵ Hume, "Gothic Versus Romantic," p. 286. The next quotations are on pp. 282 and 288 respectively.

⁴⁶ See Paul Van Tieghem, Ossian en France, pp. 32, 112-13, 303ff.

⁴⁷ There were twelve translations or re-editions in France until 1775. See Paul Van Tieghem, Le Sentiment de la nature, p. 163.

⁴⁸Gonzague de Reynold, Histoire littéraire de la Suisse au XVIIIème siècle, p. 635.

⁴⁹Biese, The Development of the Feeling for Nature, pp. 236-45 and 265. Paul Van Tieghem, Le Sentiment de la nature, p. 163. Engel, La Littérature alpestre, p. 17.

⁵⁰Le Sentiment de la nature, p. 163.

⁵¹La Nouvelle Héloïse, I, 23, in Oeuvres complètes, II, 79.

⁵²Nicolson, Mountain Gloom, p. 315.

⁵³See Mornet, Le Sentiment de la nature en France, pp. 270-71. Irving Babbitt, Rousseau and Romanticism, applies the adjective "Rousseauistic" for the longing for the infinite (p. 293); see chapter VIII, especially pp. 286 and 293.

⁵⁴See Mornet, Le Sentiment de la nature en France, p. 271.

⁵⁵Quoted by Engel, La Littérature alpestre, p. 87.

⁵⁶Louis Cazamian, "L'Intuition panthéiste chez les romantiques anglais," in Etudes de psychologie littéraire, pp. 21-96.

⁵⁷See Engel, La Littérature alpestre, Part II, ch. 5.

⁵⁸In Goethes Werke, hrsg. von Erich Trunz. Vol. I (Faust I is in Vol. III). Hölderlin's poems are taken from Werke und Briefe, hrsg. von Friedrich Beissner und Jochen Schmidt, Vol. I.

⁵⁹Wordsworth, The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind, ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt, 2nd ed. revised by Helen Darbishire, p. 210 (1805 version, VI, 556-72). Further quotations from The Prelude will be from this edition, and from the 1805 version, unless otherwise indicated.

⁶⁰See "Intentional Structure of the Romantic Image," pp. 72-77.

⁶¹Mircea Eliade, Images and Symbols, p. 40. See also J. E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, trans. from the Spanish by Jack Sage, 2nd éd., pp. 219-21.

⁶²Eliade, Images and Symbols, p. 49.

⁶³See the analysis of Jean-Pierre Richard, "Géographie magique de Nerval," in Poésie et Profondeur, p. 53.

⁶⁴Alphonse de Lamartine, Jocelyn, éd. par Marius-François Guyard, 2e époque (p. 69) until the end of 4e époque.

CHAPTER III

NOTES

¹La Littérature alpestre en France et en Angleterre aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, pp. 105-107.

²Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes. The Fifth Edition (1835), ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt, p. 99. Further quotations will be from this edition and will be simply identified by the page numbers in brackets. As for the Lyrical Ballads of 1798, the edition used is again that by W. J. B. Owen. The translation of Longinus is that by Prickard.

³Albert Otto Wlecke, "Wordsworth and the Sublime: An Essay on Wordsworth's Imagination" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1969).

⁴1802 Preface. I refer to the 1800 and 1802 Prefaces because they justify the 1798 "experiments." From now on I will not give the reference of quotations taken from the Advertisement or the Prefaces.

⁵The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth. The Later Years, ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt, I, 194. The Critical Works of John Dennis, ed. by E. N. Hooker, II, lxxiii.

⁶For a discussion of the picturesque in "Tintern Abbey," see J. R. Watson, Picturesque Landscape, and English Romantic Poetry, pp. 79-87.

⁷See John Keats, "Great spirits . . ." sonnet, in The Poetical Works and Other Writings of John Keats, ed. by H. Buxton Forman, revised by Maurice Buxton Forman, I, 91; The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth. The Later Years, I, 346.

⁸Guide to the Lakes, p. 35.

⁹Wordsworth as Critic, p. 11.

¹⁰Kritik der Urteilskraft, hrsg. von Karl Vorländer. See above, Chapter II, Section VIII.

¹¹James A. W. Heffernan, Wordsworth's Theory of Poetry. The Transforming Imagination, p. 32.

¹²Wordsworth's Style. Figures and Themes in the "Lyrical Ballads" of 1800.

¹³For a discussion of selectivity, see Heffernan, Wordsworth's Theory of Poetry, pp. 44-45.

¹⁴For the use by Wordsworth of the ballad-repetition, see Marjorie Latta Barstow [Greenbie], Wordsworth's Theory of Poetic Diction. A Study of the Historical and Personal Background of the "Lyrical Ballads," pp. 164ff.

¹⁵Longinus, Section XXVI, p. 50; Alun R. Jones, "The Compassionate World: Some Observations on Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads, of 1798," English, XIX (Spring 1970), 9.

¹⁶See Barstow, Wordsworth's Theory of Poetic Diction, pp. 163-64.

¹⁷See Barstow, Wordsworth's Theory of Poetic Diction, pp. 150ff.

¹⁸See Josephine Miles' study: Wordsworth and the Vocabulary of Emotion.

CHAPTER IV

NOTES

Quotations from Wordsworth's works are from the following editions: An Evening Walk, Descriptive Sketches (1793 version), and Guilt and Sorrow, in Wordsworth's Poetical Works, ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt, Vol. I. Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes. The Fifth Edition (1835), ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt. Lyrical Ballads. 1798, ed. by W. J. B. Owen, 2nd ed. The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind, ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt, 2nd ed. revised by Helen Darbishire, the 1805 version.

¹The most famous is William Gilpin, who published in 1786 his Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, in several parts of England, particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland. He is quoted by Wordsworth in the Guide to the Lakes. See E. de Sélincourt, ed., Guide to the Lakes, pp. xi-xii, and Emile Legouis, The Early Life of William Wordsworth, 1770-1798. A Study of "The Prelude," p. 147.

²See Legouis, The Early Life, pp. 131-47.

³See his note to Descriptive Sketches, l. 347, in Poetical Works, I, 62.

⁴The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth (1787-1805), ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt, pp. 30-37.

⁵Compare with the eighteenth-century descriptions quoted by Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring in Italian Landscape in Eighteenth-Century England. A Study chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste, 1700-1800, pp. 110-20.

⁶See Geoffrey H. Hartman, Wordsworth's Poetry, 1787-1814, pp. 102-15.

⁷Poetical Works, I, 108-109.

⁸Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. by Earl Leslie Griggs, I, 349 (letter No. 209).

⁹The Critical Works of John Dennis, ed. by Edward Niles Hooker, II, 380-81. See also Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, etc., ed. by John M. Robertson, II, 122-23 ("The Moralists," Part III, section i).

¹⁰Biographia Literaria, ed. by J. Shawcross, II, 5. See The Excursion, IV, 1058-77, in Poetical Works, V, 142-43.

¹¹See Newton P. Stallknecht, Strange Seas of Thought. Studies in William Wordsworth's Philosophy of Man and Nature, pp. 114ff.

¹²Hartman, Wordsworth's Poetry, p. 256.

CHAPTER V

NOTES

References to the Méditations poétiques are from Jean des Cognets' edition, which has been chosen because it closely follows the order of the 1820 edition. As for Jocelyn, the edition referred to is that by Marius-François Guyard in Garnier-Flammarion.

¹See Henri Guillemin, Le "Jocelyn" de Lamartine. Etude historique et critique avec des documents inédits, pp. 87-88, about Lamartine's epic.

²See above, Chapter II, Section IX.

³De l'Allemagne, pp. 603ff. (Chapters X, XI, XII).

⁴Quoted by Fernand Letessier, éd., Méditations, p. XXXII.

⁵Letessier, éd., Méditations, p. XXXII.

⁶Lamartine poète lyrique, p. 10.

⁷Lamartine et le sentiment de la nature, p. 54.

⁸See Letessier, éd., Méditations, p. 542.

⁹A. Tilley, "Lamartine's Méditations poétiques," Modern Language Review, XXVI (July 1931), 293.

¹⁰See "The Drunken Boat: The Revolutionary Element in Romanticism," in Romanticism Reconsidered, ed. by Northrop Frye.

¹¹"Vallon et horizon: thématique de l'ouvert et du clos chez Lamartine," in Sainte-Beuve. Lamartine. Colloques. 8 novembre 1968, pp. 73-74.

¹²Nouvelle Revue Française, IX (1961), 38.

¹³See Christian Croisille, "L'Harmonie lamartinienne," in Sainte-Beuve. Lamartine. Colloques, p. 86.

¹⁴"Lamartine et le sentiment de l'espace," p. 40.

¹⁵In Lamartine. Le Livre du Centenaire, éd. par Paul Viallaneix, pp. 13-14. The following quotation comes from p. 19.

¹⁶See Claire-Eliane Engel, La Littérature alpestre en France et en Angleterre aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, p. 166.

¹⁷Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages pendant un voyage en Orient, 1832-1833, ou Notes d'un voyageur, in Oeuvres complètes de Lamartine publiées et inédites, VI, 177. In the following quotation, I underline the terms denoting mass.

¹⁸Recueils poétiques, XI, in Oeuvres complètes, V, 353.

¹⁹Revue des deux Mondes (15 mars 1834), p. 691.

²⁰Lamartine, Avertissement to Jocelyn, p. 29.

²¹Ibid.

²²See Souvenirs et portraits, éd. par Louis de Ronchaud, I, 140-43.

²³Lamartine, "Qu'est-ce que la poésie?" in Cours familier de littérature, éd. par Jean des Cognets, I, 57.

²⁴Lamartine, Avertissement to Jocelyn, p. 29.

²⁵Portraits contemporains, I, 321. For analogues, see Guillemin, Le "Jocelyn" de Lamartine, pp. 440-44.

²⁶Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp. 183-84.

²⁷Engel, La Littérature alpestre, p. 172.

CHAPTER VI

NOTES

I give in square brackets the date of composition of the poems.

¹La Littérature alpestre en France et en Angleterre aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles.

²Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Hymn before Sun-rise, in the Vale of Chamouni," in The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. by Ernest Hartley Coleridge, I, 376-80. Percy Bysshe Shelley, "Mont Blanc," in The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, ed. by Thomas Hutchinson, pp. 532-35. Alphonse de Lamartine, Harmonies poétiques et religieuses, II, xv, "Le Mont Blanc. Sur un paysage de M. Calame," in Oeuvres complètes de Lamartine publiées et inédites, II, 493-95. Victor Hugo, La Légende des siècles, XL, "Les Montagnes. Désintéressement," in Oeuvres complètes de Victor Hugo, éd. par Jeanlouis Cornuz, XXII, 159-60.

³Adrien Bonjour, Coleridge's "Hymn before Sunrise." A Study of Facts and Problems Connected with the Poem.

⁴See Bonjour, Coleridge's "Hymn before Sunrise," p. 185.

⁵See above, Chapter II, Section IV.

⁶See Engel, La Littérature alpestre, pp. 149-55.

⁷Manfred, II, i-ii-iii; The Prisoner of Chillon, XIII; Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, III, lxi, in The Poetical Works of Lord Byron, pp. 394-98, 340 and 218 [1816-17].

⁸"La Poésie sacrée," in Méditations poétiques, éd. par Jean des Cognets, pp. 82-90 [1819]. Méditations poétiques avec commentaires, XXII, "Le Génie," in Oeuvres complètes, I, 205-209 [1817]. Harmonies, I, xii, "L'Abbaye de Vallombreuse dans les Apennins," in Oeuvres complètes, II, 345-47 [1829].

⁹Secondes Méditations, XIII, "La Solitude," in Oeuvres complètes, I, 395-99. See also the commentaire, p. 400 [1823].

¹⁰See above, Chapter V, Section II.

¹¹Harmonies, II, iv, in Oeuvres complètes, II, 387-94. For "L'Isolément," see above, Chapter V, Section II [publ. 1830].

¹²Méditations poétiques avec commentaires, XVIII, in Oeuvres complètes, I, 177-85 [1841]. For Haller, see above, Chapter II, Section XI.

¹³La Légende des siècles, XXXI, in Oeuvres complètes, XXII, 76-89 [1859].

¹⁴For John Denham's "Cooper's Hill," see above, Chapter II, Section III.

¹⁵"Souvenir des Alpes" in Poésies complètes, éd. par Maurice Allem, pp. 461-63 [1851].

¹⁶Livre mystique, "Le Déluge. Mystère"; Line moderne, "Le Cor. Poème," in Oeuvres complètes, éd. par F. Baldensperger, I, 31-40 and 85-87 [1823 and 1825].

¹⁷"Lettre écrite de la montagne," in Les Chansons lointaines. Poèmes et poésies, pp. 85-88 [1838].

¹⁸"Le Torrent noir" and "Le Sapin," in Les Chansons lointaines, pp. 99-102 and 120-23 [publ. 1855].

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I. PRIMARY TEXTS

1. Poetical Works
2. Prose Works and other Documents of Taste

II. SECONDARY TEXTS

3. Studies on Wordsworth
4. Studies on Lamartine
5. Studies on Romanticism
6. Studies on Aesthetics and History of Taste
7. Studies on Mountains and Nature in Literature
8. General Studies
9. Miscellaneous

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